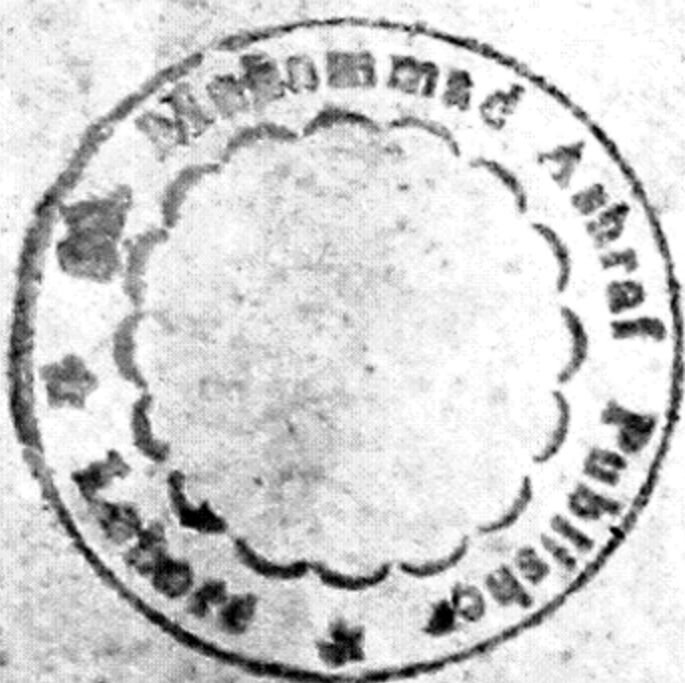


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MUSLIM COLONIES IN FRANCE, NORTHERN ITALY & SWITZERLAND

BEING
ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF REINAUD'S "INVASIONS
DES SARRAZINS EN FRANCE, ET DE FRANCE EN SAVOIE,
EN PIÉMONT ET EN SUISSE"

by
HÂROON KHÂN SHERWÂNĪ



LAHORE
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FIRST EDITION, 1955

944
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PRINTED BY
MIRZA MUHAMMAD SADIQ
AT THE
RIPON PRINTING PRESS
BULL ROAD — LAHORE

AND

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To
The memory of my late lamented friend
— he was like a brother to me —
Mas'ud
(Sir Ross Masood Nawab Masood Jung),
who
first suggested the importance of this work

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC WORDS

ā	=	آ	d	=	ض
b	=	ب	t	=	ط
t	=	ت	z	=	ظ
<u>th</u>	=	ث	,	=	ع
j	=	ج	<u>gh</u>	=	غ
h	=	ح	f	=	ف
<u>kh</u>	=	خ	k	=	ک
d	=	د	q	=	ق
<u>dh</u>	=	ذ	l	=	ل
r	=	ر	m	=	م
z	=	ز	n	=	ن
s	=	س	w	=	و
<u>sh</u>	=	ش	,	=	ہ
ṣ	=	ص	y	=	ی - ے

PREFACE

[BY THE TRANSLATOR]

Reinaud's French work entitled "Invasions des Sarrazins en France, et de France en Savoie en Piémont et en Suisse," which is now presented in an English garb, was published more than a hundred years ago, in 1836. Its value lies, among other things, in the attempt to give a connected account of the gradual onward march of the Muslims from North Africa to Northern France, their spreading into Switzerland and Northern Italy from Northern Spain and Southern France, and the fate that met them after the expulsion of their co-religionists from the Peninsula. Some details may be controverted, but the main steps are sure and certain. In spite of eminent researches in the history of Islamic Spain, this particular aspect of Muslim control has been ignored to a certain extent, and a scholar equally at home with Latin, French, Spanish and Arabic has yet to write a history of the gradual progress and colonization of the Muslims in these lands after taking into full consideration the mass of Arabic manuscripts found in the Escorial of Madrid as also the latest information bearing on the subject. But till that is done Reinaud's work, with critical and corrective notes, remains unique in the field.

I am fully aware of the fact that not only Reinaud but many other European authors are biassed in what they write about Islam or its history, and some of them may even be consciously endeavouring to paint the picture in false colours. It was for this reason that I took care to append explicative and corrective footnotes on important matters, taking care to put them in brackets in order that the reader might know where the author ends and the translator begins. The headings of the various chapters have also been changed from the descriptive titles sometimes going up to three or four lines to simpler ones.

Sub-headings have also been introduced to clarify the subject-matter. The transliteration of Arabic words had to be entirely changed from the crude forms utilized by Reinaud to modern forms, such as *Moussa* has been replaced by *Mūsa*, *Omar fils d'Abdalezyz* by 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Azīz, *Alhaor* by Al-Ḥurr, *Zama* by Al-Samḥ, etc. Certain matter has been bodily shifted from one chapter to the other for the sake of congruity, such as the first part of the Amirate of 'Abdul Raḥmān I has been shifted from the end of Chapter I to the beginning of Chapter II. Lastly, the "additions and corrections" appended to the work have been inserted in the relevant parts of the work itself.

When the book was published quite a large number of Arabic authorities were still only in the manuscript, and works such as those of Conde had not been translated, with the result that most of Reinaud's footnotes refer to manuscripts in the Royal Library of Paris (now the Bibliothèque Nationale or the French National Library). Even such well-known works as Maqqarī, Mas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥauqal and others are only referred to in manuscript, and it has been an effort to locate these references in the printed editions without which the English reader would have been at a loss where to look for evidence contained in the work. In this connection I have tried to give full references to the printed editions published since Reinaud and the dates of their publication, and this required quite a good amount of coordination. As on a close examination it was found that the gist of the Latin footnotes was already given in the body of the work, it was not thought necessary that the Latin quotations should be retranslated as it would have only duplicated the same material. On the other hand, on occasions where only a translation of Arabic lines had been given and the matter only referred to, I thought it well to look up the original Arabic and insert it in footnotes.

Reinaud himself recognizes that the land of France and the adjoining countries were overrun by the Muslims as well as by the Germanic nations and the Huns, and that the accounts of the ravages committed by the Vandals, the Huns

and the Franks were all jumbled together and heaped on the shoulders of the Muslims by Christian chroniclers most of whom were ecclesiastics. This was not all; these 'chroniclers' sometimes even changed the dates of these invasions in order to make Charles Martel and Charlemagne the heroes of national exploits against the Muslims! It will further be noticed that certain episodes, such as those in which one or two monks are described as hiding in secret places, and, after the invaders have left, going elsewhere to tell the lurid tale with all its sickening details, have been repeated so often that they deceive nobody. In all such cases footnotes have been appended in order to put the unwary reader on guard.

The translation of this important work was first undertaken at the instance of the late Sir Ross Masood Nawab Masood Jung, once Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, and appeared in instalments in *The Islamic Culture* of Hyderabad Deccan when Mr. Pickthall of revered memory was its editor. Mr. Pickthall was good enough to give me his formal permission to publish it in a book form. Later the permission was renewed by the reconstructed Board of the 'Islamic Culture' with the late Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung as its distinguished President. I am grateful to the Board for having accorded me that permission.

The whole translation has now been thoroughly revised and in places entirely remodelled, while an appendix on 'Chronological Sequence' has been added. A map has also been appended in which the march of the Muslims to and from the fateful battle of Poitiers-Tours has been delineated and an attempt has been made to point out the extent of the parts of Central Europe over which the Muslims of Fraxinet were able to exercise their influence even when they had been cut off from their brethren in Spain by the formation of the Spanish March.

H.K.S.

Hyderabad Deccan :

November 1954

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INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

IT is well to remember that France was once invaded by a strange people who had already subjugated Spain and certain other neighbouring lands. They carried with them a new religion, an entirely foreign language and strange manners and customs, so that the burden of guarding all that man holds dearest, *i.e.*, freedom of the native land and ancient institutions, fell upon the shoulders of France and such countries of Europe as had not been conquered.

A number of questions have been asked by men of learning and historians about the character of those incursions, which were almost invariably accompanied by the occupation of a part of the fair land of France. The main problems, which may be mentioned here, are the following : What was the original home of the invaders ; whether they were homogeneous or heterogeneous ; were all of them Muslims or were there Jews, idolaters and Christians among them ; finally, what were the results arising from their incursions and whether their footprints are still visible on the soil of France and the countries which they occupied.

AUTHORITIES

No doubt, some of these questions have already been examined a number of times, but so far as we are aware, they have never been treated

at length and no general conclusions have been drawn from them so far.¹ It need hardly be mentioned here that, for the purpose of doing full justice to the subject, it is absolutely necessary to take into consideration the writings of the representatives of the conquerors as well as of the conquered races, that is to say, to deal with the writings both of the Muslims and the Christian authors.

Historians have often noticed that very little can be gathered from the writings of Christian contemporaries. The reason for this is not long to seek, for the period of Saracenic invasions is precisely that when France was sinking to its uttermost depth, and which is by far the darkest epoch in her long and eventful history. When the Saracens came for the first time, about 712 A.C., the land was parcelled out between the Northern Franks who occupied Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy, the Southern Franks who were masters of Aquitaine from the Loire to the Pyrenees, and the Visigoths who ruled a portion of the Languedoc and Provence. For a long time past the *régime* of weak kings and ambitious nobles had thrown the government and society into utter confusion, while the population was divided into numberless groups with conflicting interests. All this was bad enough, but unluckily it is only imperfect notices which are the source of all our information about those troublous times. No

¹We should here mention the *Précis historique des guerres des Sarrazins dans les Gaules*, by M. B.....N. C. F., Paris, 1810, and *Histoire générale de Moyen-age*, by M. Desmichels, Paris, 1831, Vol. II.

doubt, with Pepin and Charlemagne, the solidarity of the people increases to a remarkable extent and the historical horizon gradually becomes clearer, but it exactly coincides with the period when the Arabs were expelled from France. Later on, when, during the reign of the successors of Louis the Gentle, the Saracens recrossed the French border, this beautiful land had already fallen a prey to anarchy and all other evils which usually follow such a state of affairs. The historical horizon now grows dimmer and dimmer till the country becomes a huge arena of pillage, devastation, murder and massacre, where the Saracens, the Normans and the Huns meet on common ground, and when it becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate the acts of one invading nation from the deeds of another.

At the same time accounts left to us by the Arab writers about the events of that distant epoch, especially in regard to the invasion of France, are in themselves by no means more perfect. In the first place we must remember that at least those Arab writers whose works have been handed down to us composed their work long after the events which they described. We know that from the very first there were among the conquering nation some whose business it was to record such events as seemed to them to be extraordinary, or which added glory to the fair name of the Arab race. Such, for instance, are two works mentioned in the Arab bibliography, the first being an account of the glorious deeds of Mūsa, the conqueror of

Spain, written by his own grandson,¹ and the other a poem on Mūsa's rival, Ṭāriq, which was likewise composed two generations after him.² But the account left by these writers appears to have been taken mostly from oral tradition only, so that it cannot be said to be entirely trustworthy.³ We must not forget that at this period of their glory and enthusiasm, the Arabs wished above all to do everything which should demonstrate to the world the triumph of Islam. Poetry was the one branch of literature which attracted them, and it was only thus that they sang the glorious deeds of Islamic heroes. Finally we are struck by the comparative lack of monuments commemorating the exploits of the Arabs, not only in the case of Spain but also in regard to their success in Syria, Egypt and the Old World in general.

Most of the historical works left to us by the Arabs, at least those of them which have a bearing on the subject before us, were written after the ninth century A.C., so that they belong to a period when men had forgotten a part of what had taken place.⁴ Moreover we are aware that they are

¹Casiri : *Bibliotheca Arabo-Hispana Escorialensis*, tr. II, p. 139. [Casiri's catalogue is full of the most useful abstracts from Arab authors. It is, however, a pioneer work and, as such, is not free from errors. For this see Conde, *Arabs in Spain*, I, 15 ff. Tr.]

²Ibid. p. 36.

³We need not mention the *Histoire des deux Conquêtes de l'Espagne par les Mores*, par Abulcasim-Tarif-Aben-Tarique, l'un de ceux qui y ont pris part. This work is of doubtful nature and was composed by Miguel de Luna, interpreter to King Philip II.

⁴[Such as Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd'd-Dār el-Qurṭubī, Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, Ibn Ḥayyān, Ibn al-'Abār, Ibn Khaldūn and many others. Tr.]

wholly silent on a number of historical facts which were actually happening when they were written.

There is no doubt that the Arabs had many opportunities of knowing something about the interior of France and the neighbouring countries, for while at the commencement of their conquests, they had subdued and kept under their surveillance a part of these lands, they kept their relations with them even after they had fallen away from the Arab Empire. The reader will see that, while the Saracenic armies were overrunning these lands, at that very moment ambassadorial missions were being exchanged between the combatants. Mas'ūdī tells us that about 939 A.C., Godmar, Bishop of Gironne in Catalonia, was sent to Khalīfah 'Abdul Raḥmān of Cordova. While he was still on his ambassadorial mission, the heir-presumptive to the throne, Ḥakam, who is well known to have been an ardent upholder of all that led to the advancement of learning, asked him to write a history which should deal with the Kings of France from Clovis onwards.¹ We know that, from the time of Charlemagne, Catalonia was included within the Kingdom of France, and that Louis d'Outremer

¹[Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, French translation by Ménard and Courtaillé, *Prairies d'or*, Paris, 1864, III, p. 70. *Tr.*] The names of Godmar and Gironne as well as the entire passage have been altered in most of the copies of Mas'ūdī's works which are found in the Royal (now National) Library of Paris. We have used a number of the manuscripts of this library, especially a copy which once belonged to M. Schulz which was later acquired by French Government. Also see Desguigne's *Mémoires de l'Académie de l'Inscriptions*, Vol. XLV, p. 21 ; d'Ohsson : *Des peuples du Caucase*, Paris, 1828, p. 123 and the Spanish collection named *España Sagrada*, Vol. XLIII, p. 126.

reigned there when the Bishop of Gironne worked at his history, so that in all probability the facts recorded were correct. Mas'ūdī tells us that that he himself saw a copy of this work in Egypt, but unfortunately all that we know about it is that derived from the few notices in the Arab historian's writings.¹

One reason why more Arabic works are not found on the subject was that the large number of proper names, with which they dealt, were entirely strange to their readers. The Arabs, as a rule, do not mark the vowel-points, while sometimes the copyists leave out the dots which are put either above or below the letters in order to distinguish them from each other. Moreover a large number of proper names which have nothing to correspond with in Arabic are transcribed in such a fashion that they are not recognizable even by those from whose history they were taken.

In the absence of other sources of information, one would have thought that the coins of the conquerors would have been of great value to the historian. One knows of what inestimable help are these historical relics for fixing the dates of historical persons and places. But right up to the tenth century A.C., the Spanish and the French Saracens coined money at the solitary mint at Cordova, and whatever coins we possess of the epoch before the tenth century contain merely certain passages from the Qur'ān without the name either of the governor of the province or even of the reigning

¹Ibid.

monarch.

All this goes to demonstrate the great difficulties which come in the way of a writer of the early history of the Spanish Saracens, and when an attempt is made to write an account of their colonies in France these difficulties become all the more intense. We possess a work on the occupation of the peninsula by the Arabs named *Historia de dominacion de los Arabes en España* by Conde, which was published some time ago and which contains pieces of most valuable information.¹ In this work the author has evidently at his disposal all the Arabic manuscripts of the library of the Escorial as well as of certain other libraries of Spain ; and although he has not been able to lay his hands on the Arabic manuscripts of the National Library of Paris, he has drawn from sources which, but for his industry, would have remained unexplored. Unfortunately Conde was not able to put the last touches to his work, which was perhaps due to an inherent lack of the power of criticism which

¹Madrid 1820, 3 Vols. in 4to. Since then two French translations, both in an abridged form, have seen the light of the day : one by M. Audiffret, in *Continuation de l'art de vérifier les Dates* ; the other by M. Marles, which is published as a distinct book. A full translation of this work was prepared by M. d'Avezac, who was not only a master of the Spanish language but was also perfectly at home in the history and geography of Spain and Africa. Unfortunately, however, this translation had not been published till this book was written. We should also mention a German work, i.e., *Geschichte von Spanien*, by M. Lembke, Hamburg, 1831. Only one volume of this work has so far been published, and this takes one right up to 822 A.C. [This important work has been rendered into English by Mrs. Foster and published in three volumes entitled *Arabs in Spain*, London, 1912-13. Tr.]

may be observed right through this work. We also know of another Spanish work of which Conde seems to have been ignorant and which would have been of immense value to him, namely *Cartas para ilustrar la Historia de la España Arabe*, which is in effect a collection of letters illustrating the history of Spain under the Arabic domination.¹ It was published in Madrid in 1796, and it goes right against certain views expressed in the twelfth volume of Masdeu's *History of Spain*. The author of this work is very fond of finding fault with other people's views, but sometimes he does not take the trouble of discussing the *pros* and *cons* of what he puts forward. Moreover certain parts of the Arabic passages which he quotes seem to have been altered. In spite of all his faults, however, he often gives ample proof of his far-sightedness, and the problems which he puts forward concerning the races, the conquering armies, the religions professed by them, and the disintegration which almost immediately followed the conquest of the peninsula by elements so heterogeneous, would certainly have deserved Conde's attention.

In taking up the present work we were cognisant of the numerous pitfalls which beset our path ; but it seemed to us that we could still add to the mass of historical facts already known. In addition to this consideration we thought that even for those facts for which our sole authority is the Christian

¹One volume in 4to. by Faustino Borbon who has the advantage of being able to draw on the Arabic manuscripts of the Escorial.

authors, it was still possible to go further than Muratori, Dom Bouquet and other no less eminent savants.

SCHEME OF THE PRESENT WORK

We should like to let the reader know the line which we have adopted in this work. We have tried to pick up from the rather incoherent data left to us by the Chroniclers such pieces of evidence as we thought were contemporary to the events related, or were as little away from them as possible. Taking this into consideration we are of opinion that, however imperfect the Christian writers of the period may be, they seem to be certainly worthy of our best attention and consideration. Whenever we have found Christian and Arab evidence in agreement with one another, we have admitted that the facts related rest on a sound historical basis; when, however, there is a disagreement between the two, we have put both versions before the reader, and have at the same time given our own opinion as to their veracity and probability. Further we have, as far as possible, drawn from the original sources, and have always taken care to mention those original authorities which we could not consult, for instance in the case of certain events which Conde admits to have drawn from original Arab authors. No doubt, it would have been far better to compare these authorities with the originals which still exist in the libraries of Spain; but unfortunately Conde does not always give any reference to the sources

from which he borrows his facts.¹

At the end of the present work we have discussed the various peoples who in conjunction with the Arabs came within an ace of subjugating the whole of the European continent to the Law of Islam. We have sometimes called these races by the generic name of the *Saracens*, a name the real origin of which we do not know, but which has been given generally to all nomadic peoples ;² sometimes we have called them *Moors*, because the Arabs came into Spain directly from Africa, and there was a large number of Africans in the conquering armies. We have, moreover, taken care to distinguish the invasions of the *Saracens* from those of the Normans, the Huns and other barbarian races which overran the provinces of the dominions of Charlemagne immediately after his death and wrangled over the skeleton of what was once a mighty Empire.

EXTENT OF THE INCURSIONS

While the *Saracens* were crossing into France with fire and sword in their hands, and laying waste Northern Italy and Switzerland, their compatriots were crossing into Sicily and Southern Italy, and making themselves master of those fair regions.

¹A part of the original extracts made by Conde is now in possession of the Parisian *Société Asiatique* ; but we have not been able to find in it anything which we might consider material to our subject.

²[For the origin of the word see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, p. 155. The word was known to the Greeks as far back as the first century of the Christian era ; Ptolemy says that the district of *Sarakene* was situated somewhere in northern Arabia near the Egyptian border. *Tr.*]

It should be remembered that these two sets of invaders were entirely distinct from one another, and we have therefore been led to deal with the influence which they exercised over each other.

Even to-day one sees all around one numerous landmarks of the Muslim occupation of France. Here the site of a fortress once destroyed by them, there a river on the banks of which French prisoners were ransomed; in this valley the place where they hid their booty, on that eminence the series of fortresses in which they concerted their plans; such are the footprints of these Asiatic races which were once supreme in South-Western Europe. All this is apart from the oral traditions which are not actually based on any contemporary monument, such as the tradition about a small village on the banks of the Garonne, named Castel-Sarrazin. There is hardly one living in the south of France who does not believe that this place was once an Arab fortress, nevertheless the fact remains that the name is but the corrupted form of another name by which the place was known in ancient days.¹

We have at the same time skipped over some episodes which have been dealt with by certain ancient writers in their most detailed aspect, but which have been entirely ignored by modern historians. They are either the work of those who loved to relate all that struck them as marvellous

¹The word 'Castel-Sarrazin' is evidently derived from *Castrum-Cerrucium*, a name about which vide *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, p. 160, and the *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, by Dom Vaissette, Vol. I, p. 544.

(such as the authors of the tales of chivalry), or, on the other hand, they are based on ideas which are altogether erroneous. In such cases we have considered it sufficient for our purpose simply to mention these episodes and their sources.

Here we cannot help saying a few words on some of these episodes, which have a direct bearing on the subject under review. We must remember that these episodes became the foundation of a part of the ancient literature of France and exercised a direct influence on the opinion of the ancestors of modern Frenchmen for a very long time.

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT SARACENS

If we were to peruse the writings of contemporary historians, we should see that the Saracens are often dubbed *pagans* by them. This mistake was due to a number of reasons : in the first place there may have been some of idol-worshippers among the invaders ; then of course ignorant Christians erroneously thought that the Muslims considered their Prophet to be God Himself. Later, when at the time of the Crusades there was not a real pagan left in Europe, and when the Muslims were the only people to oppose the ambitions of the Western Christians, it became the habit of the Christians to consider Islam and paganism to be synonymous ! The extraordinary result of such a contradiction in terms was that the followers of the Qur'ān as well as the idol-worshippers and polytheists even before the days of the Apostle of Islam—such as the Franks who had

invaded Gaul before Clovis, the Greeks and the Romans—were dubbed “Saracens” or “Pagans” without a second thought. For instance, a chapter of the Chronicle of William of Nangis begins with the history of “The Kings of France, both Christian and Saracen.”¹

Following the same line of thought, many Arab leaders are included in the *dramatis personæ* of the French romance called the *Parthénopeus* which deals with the occurrences at the Court of King Clovis.² It is no wonder, then, that we come across certain writings of the Middle Ages, where the magnificent remains of Roman hegemony, such as those at Vienne, Lyons and in Dauphiné, are spoken of as being of Arab workmanship. Nor is it surprising that a time comes in the history of France when the exploits of the Arabs are made to eclipse all others, and, medieval writers, while neglecting real authorities for French history, give never-ending accounts, mostly fictitious, of the campaigns of Charles Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne against the followers of Islam while nearly ignoring their campaigns against the Germanic nations.

This was not the only source of their error. The brilliance of the name of Charlemagne had eclipsed not only the names of his unworthy succes-

¹*Catalogus Codicum Bibliothecae Bernensis*, by Sinner, Vol. II, p. 244.

²*Parthénopeus de Blois*, published by M. Crapelet, Paris, 1834, 2 Vols. in 4to. The poem, Vol. II, p. 77, describes the condition of Muslim Spain as it was from the eleventh century onwards, and says that it was divided into a number of principalities. This shows that the poem could not have been composed very early.

sors but also of his father Pepin and his grandfather Charles Martel, so that a number of authors of the chivalric romances and most of the chroniclers gave the great Emperor the credit for some of the most noteworthy acts which, in point of fact, either preceded or followed him. Thus the so-called *Chronicle of Archbishop Turpin*¹ attributes all the Muslim invasions of France from the time of Charles Martel right up to the tenth century to the period of Charlemagne, and at the same time attributes to that period of French history all the events which necessitated the departure of the French warriors to the South to help Spanish Christians, who were menaced by the Muslims as well as by armed African bands towards the end of the eleventh century.² The same might be said of the romance of *Philomène*,³ which says that the Saracens were overlords of the whole of Southern France, as they really were in the time of Charles Martel for a short while, and gives Charlemagne the credit of their expulsion from France which was really accomplished a long time before him.

¹*De vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi*, Ciampi's edition, Florence, 1822, in 8vo. Taking into consideration the events with which it deals, it must have been written after 1100 A.C. M. Ciampi only imperfectly knew the period and the environments with which the book deals, and has therefore made a number of mistakes in transcribing proper names.

²The fact was that when the Spanish Muslims were hard pressed by the Christians of Toledo, they called Yūsuf son of Tāshfīn to their help. This Yūsuf was the founder of the town of Morocco and of the Empire of the Almoravides.

³*Gesta Caroli Magni ad Narbonum et Carcassonam*, M. Ciampi's edition, Florence, 1823, in 8vo. The *Philomène* romance, first written in the Provençal language, was composed later than Turpin's Chronicle.

We do not think it necessary to add here that everyone of these writers has freely changed the proper course of events and has used contemporary colours for painting his picture.

On the other hand, certain writers, who composed their works at the time of the struggle of the Kings of France with their principal feudatories, have arbitrarily changed the period of a number of events under review, moving them on to the reigns of Charlemagne and Pepin, and have attributed the success of those enterprises to the predecessors of their patrons. Such is the idea which runs through the *Poem of William the Short-nosed*, which is named after William, Count of Toulouse, in whose honour the poem was composed and to whom the poet attributes the merit of having driven the Saracens from Nîmes, Orange and other towns of France.¹ As a matter of fact, it was a long time after that day, that the inhabitants of this part of France not only expelled the Muslims out of their country, but actually took part in the final overthrow of the Muslims of Spain.

We can easily understand how such writings, which were glossed on by Italian writers, chiefly by Ariosto, greatly misled subsequent authors. We should like to mention here another source of error. We know that the Huns left their habita-

¹The *Poeme de Guillaume au-court-nez* is in French and consists of nearly 80,000 lines. The Manuscript is in the National Library of Paris, Lavallière Section, No. 23, and is divided into a number of subdivisions.

tions on the banks of the Danube during the first half of the ninth century, and after having crossed the Rhine, put practically the whole of France to fire and sword. The large part of the country which they occupied, and the disastrous results which followed their occupation, recalled the invasion of the Vandals, who had, five hundred years earlier, left practically identical homes, and had, so far as France was concerned, followed the same lines of march. Now among the Huns there was a tribe called the Venedes or Wends. It seems that the German and French writers, especially those of a poetic bent of mind, wanted to establish some kind of connection between the Huns and the Vandals, (a name which at once suggests one of the most terrible products of human barbarism), so that they transformed the name of the *Wends* to *Vendres*, which soon changed to *Vandals* and they calmly applied it to the Hungarian race! James of Guise, a Belgian writer of the fourteenth century,¹ while speaking of the nations which devastated France in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries A.C., says that the word *Vandal* means a runner or a vagabond in the northern languages, and as the people were in the habit of flying from one country to another before finally settling down they were called 'Vandals.'²

¹*History of Hainault*, in Latin, published for the first time in its entirety with French translation by the Marquis de Fortia d'Urban, Paris, 1826 ff., 15 vols. in 8vo.

²It is certain that according to the writings of James de Guise, the Vandals came to France by way of the Rhine and that they were really

James of Guise seems to have borrowed from the *Roman de Garin de Loherain*, a French poem composed about the twelfth century A.C.¹ In the *Roman de Garin* the Vandals are said to have invaded the country in the time of Charles Martel, and the heroes of the poem are described as having later on taken part in the campaigns of Charlemagne.² One of the incongruities of the poem is that while mention is made of the martyrdom of St. Nicaise, Archbishop of Rheims, and the death of St. Loup, Bishop of Troyes, both of whom lived in the fifth century, the details of the work belong to the tenth and the following centuries. In fact at the time when the action of the poem is supposed to have taken place, the King of France had retired to Laon, and Paris was governed by a duke. The country between Champagne and Alsace, from which the hero receives his surname of *Loherain*, was already called *Lotharingia* or Lorraine after Charlemagne's grandson, Lothaire. Moreover, Metz and other towns had dukes of their own. The poem calls the Vandals 'Hongres' or Hungarians, and we

Normans by race. In fact he mentions that they invaded France twice, once in the time of Charles Martel and Pepin (Vol. VIII, pp. 263 ff.) and then during the reigns of Charles the Simple and Louis d'Outremer (Vol. IX, pp. 220 ff.). In the first case he bows his head to the sweet will of the authors of the Chivalric romances, while in the second case he is guided by the correct order of events. Without guaranteeing the etymology of the word 'Vandal' as given by James of Guise we know that '*Wandeln*' means *to march* in the German language.

¹The *Roman de Garin de Loherain* was published for the first time by M. Paulin, Paris, 1833. A critical and literary analysis of the poem has been published by M. Leroux de Lincy, Paris, Techener, 1835, in 8vo.

²Compare the *Roman de Garin*, Vol. I, pp. 49 ff., with Turpin's Chronicle, pp. 81 and 83.

know that at the same time when it was composed, the Moors were still masters of Savoy which was then called the *Maurienne*.¹

This raises the question whether the Saracens had nothing to do with the nation which is named Vandal, and if the answer to it be in the affirmative, then another problem comes to our mind, regarding the part which they played in that invasion. The whole question of the identification of the country through which the Saracens must have passed depends on the following considerations : We come across many passages in the annals of martyrdom and the legends of the Saints composed after the eighth century, where mention is made of the destruction of churches and the murder of Christian Fathers by the Vandals. Now we know that during the reign of Charles Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne, the country situated between the Rhine, the Pyrenees, the Alps and the sea was overrun by the Muslims. We are also aware of the fact that the *Roman de Garin*, the Chronicle of James of Guise and the *Roman du Renard le Contrefait* more than once mention the Vandals as Saracens. Lastly, the real Saracens, especially those of Africa, are sometimes dubbed *Vandals*, thus reminding us of the real Vandals who were led into Africa by Genseric.²

¹These remarks apply to a passage in an old French work called *la Fleur des Histoires*, mentioned in the Catalogue of the Berne Library, Vol. VI, p. 189, as well as to a passage in an unpublished French poem called *Renard le Contrefait* which M. Robert, Keeper of the Library of St. Genevieve, was going to publish.

²See the *Life of St. Nicholas*, published by M. Monmerque in the Collection of the *Societe des Bibliophiles Francais*, Paris, 1834, p. 258.

This question was examined a hundred and fifty years ago by Father Lecoinge in his Ecclesiastical History of France.¹ This orator and savant did not hesitate to identify the Vandals and the Saracens, and his opinion was accepted by Dom Mabillon, Father Pagi, Dom Vaissette, in short by some of the most learned men of the period. It was only later on that certain most important ancient French works were brought to light, where the Vandal invasions were described in their fullest detail. In these works it is taken for granted that the Vandals invaded not only Southern and Central France, where in point of fact the Saracens had really penetrated, but were in actual possession of the suburbs of Paris, Lorraine, Flanders and many parts of the valley of the Rhine where the standards of Islam had never flown. Thus was proved the dictum that he who grasps too much loses all.

To sum up : As a matter of fact there is no contemporary authority describing the invasion of France by the Vandal nation in the eighth century. All the evidence which we possess belongs to the tenth century, where the Vandals are called Saracens, and of course the word *Saracen* could never have meant *pagan*. To Dom Mabillon² and Dom Vaissette³ may be given the credit of the remark that certain facts about the so-called Vandals of the eighth century really belonged to another

¹*Annales Ecclesiastici Francorum*, Vol. IV, pp. 728 ff.

²*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, saec. I, part 2, p. 534, and *Annales Benedictini*, Vol. II, p. 90.

³*Histoire Generale du Languedoc*, Vol. I, notes, pp. 138 ff.

period altogether.¹

It may be objected that these facts have been actually admitted in the great Chronicles of St. Denis which were held in such high esteem by the ancestors of modern Frenchmen. Those Chronicles were put into writing about the middle of the twelfth century, and so far as events prior to that date are concerned, the writer has simply reproduced the most popular stories current in his own time. We have, therefore, little doubt that he must have drawn from the absurd tales embodied in the Chronicle of Turpin.

All this supports what we already know, that right up till the seventeenth century, *i.e.*, till the revival of the study of history as a science, the *Roman de Garin* and other works of that category were almost the only authorities which were consulted by writers on the subject before us. This goes to explain the great confusion of ideas which began in the Romances, passed on to the Chronicles and thence to most of the legends of the Saints.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT

To return to our subject, we are not concerned with such facts as merely satisfy idle curiosity or deal only with small localities. For a long time a large part of France was overrun or occupied by the Muslims, while some time afterwards Savoy, Piedmont and Switzerland felt the effect of their

¹Vide Part I, *infra* ; as regards the capture of the Abbey of Luxeuil by the Vandals, vide the *Memoires Historiques sur la ville de Poligny*, by Chevalier, Lon-le-Saulnier, 1767, Vol. I, pp. 45 and 66.

domination, so that they were in possession of some of the best fortified parts of what is practically the centre of Europe from the Gulf of St. Tropès to the Lake of Constance, and from the Rhône to the Jura Mountains right up to Montferrat and Lombardy. There is little doubt that when the Crusaders hurled Christian Europe against Asia and Africa and brought the Bible and the Qur'ān so much into prominence, they well remembered these raids of the Muslims on those countries. In all these lands which were once occupied by the Muslims, and even in the adjoining countries, their name has ever been present before the peoples' mind ; not only that, it has further been mixed up with the tradition of ancient and medieval Europe.

In this work we have enumerated various facts in their chronological order, so that if there are any events which might have escaped our notice, they can easily be put in their proper place, and if there are any facts which have not been allotted to their proper date they can be given their true character. In this connection we should like to appeal to the enthusiasm and learning of those who do not wish to remain indifferent to such an important issue and who have special opportunities for knowing the real facts, either owing to their proximity to the historical places under discussion, or else because they have in their possession documents which have not been properly sifted. The present book, although very small in volume, has taken a long time to prepare and is the result of hard and succinct work. It may, however, be re-

garded only as an outline to be amplified by further dissertations on the subject. Considering the long centuries which separate us from the events which we are going to narrate and discuss, it is impossible to hope to fill in all the gaps which exist. We trust, however, that the present work will bring a number of new facts to light; and in any case, even if it were to reveal even one dark spot in one of the darkest and most difficult periods in the History of France, we shall consider our industry sufficiently repaid.

The book is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter are described the invasions of the Saracens coming chiefly from Spain *via* the Pyrenees, up to their expulsion from Narbonne and the Languedoc by Pepin the Short in 759. The second chapter deals with the invasion of the Saracens by sea as well as by land till their colonisation of the coast of Provence about 889. The third chapter relates how the Muslims penetrated through Provence to Dauphiné, Savoy, Piedmont and Switzerland. We shall show in the fourth part the general character and the results of these inroads and settlements.

Chapter I

THE GOVERNORATE OF ANDALUS

AN Arab author, describing the conquest of Spain by his countrymen, quotes a saying of the Prophet of Islam to the effect that the once kingdoms of the world had been stretched out before him and his eyes had traversed the whole distance between the Orient and the Occident ; the Prophet is reported to have said that all that had been shown to him that day should eventually pass to the dominion of his people.¹ The prophecy came very near to being completely fulfilled, and, as a matter of fact, it seemed as if the whole world would come under the rule of the Musalmans. In a few years after the death of the Prophet, Mesopotamia, Syria, Persia, Egypt and Africa as far as the great Western Ocean, were subjugated by the Muslims, and while on the one hand the Arab warriors invaded Spain, advancing across France, threatened to conquer the whole European continent, on the other, they crossed the barriers of the Oxus and the Indus, and it was seriously felt that they would not be stopped by any boundaries save those which nature had given to the earth on which man lived.

¹Maqqārī: *Nafḥ al-Ṭayyib 'an Ghusn Andalus al-Raṭīb*. Cairo, [1302 A.H. I. 106, Walīd, 705—715. *Tr.*] This work is in a number of volumes and was written in the beginning of the 17th century. It is a mine of information and the author has drawn on certain authorities now unknown to us. We might here mention that even Conde was not aware of it. [As a matter of fact, Conde has mentioned it in his preface but only by way of a request to the King of Spain to have a copy made of the book. He says that he had no opportunity to consult it. *Tr.*]

MŪSA B. NUṢAIR. 711-714

The centre of this vast empire was the Syrian town Damascus, while the supreme authority in matters spiritual as well as temporal lay in the person of the Ummayyad ruler. At the time with which we are about to deal, the Khalīfah regnant was Walīd.

While moving across the African continent, the Arabs had come into contact with certain nomadic tribes of the interior, especially those living near the Atlas mountains, who bore the generic name of Berbers. These races had successfully withstood the Carthaginians and the Romans in the past, and now followed a number of religions such as Judaism, Christianity and idolatry. The greater part of this people spoke the Berber language, which lives on right up to the present day, while others conversed in a language resembling Arabic, Hebrew and Phœnician.¹ They were either the remnant of the people of Canaan and Phœnicia who had left the country of their origin at the time of Joshua or perhaps a little later and made the shores of the African continent their home;² or according to the opinion of certain Arab savants were descended from the tribes of Yemen and Arabia Felix, belonging to the faith of Moses, who were obliged to leave their country owing to the persecution of the

¹Extract from Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena* by M. Schulz in *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Vol. II, pp. 117 ff.

²Procope : *Histoire de la guerre des Vandales*, Bk. II, ch. 10, and M. Dureau de Lamalle : *Recherches sur L'histoire de la partie de l'Afrique septentrionale connue sous le nom de regence d'Alger*, (Report of a commission appointed by the Academy of Inscriptions and Fine Arts), Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 114 ff. Also Ibn Khaldūn, above.

Ethiopians who were then the masters of that part of the peninsula of Arabia, and had migrated to these distant regions across the provinces of the Roman Empire during the first century of the Christian era.¹ Whatever the origin of these races may have been, this linguistic resemblance between the invaders and the Berbers led a long way towards the rapid success of the Arabs,² and although the Berbers as a rule possibly continued to follow their old cults, they stretched out their helping hand to the new-comers in the enterprises on which they were about to embark. Both races were accustomed to a nomadic and adventurous life which lent itself admirably to zealous struggles and enthusiastic triumphs.

From the time that the power of the conquerors was established in Africa, they had begun to think of crossing the small channel which separated that part of the world from Europe. The governor of the African province on behalf of the Khalīfah of Damascus was Mūsa son of Nuṣair. Born in the later years of the rule of the Khalīfah 'Umar,³ Mūsa had been brought up in ideas of proselytising and religious wars which were the characteristics of that epoch. Although at the time with which we are

¹See Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.* Also see the article "Berber" in the *Encyclopédie pittoresque*, by M. Avezac.

²[At the same time it must be pointed out that the social and linguistic homogeneity of Berbers came in the way of the Arab conquerors, for while Syria, Persia and Egypt were conquered without much effort, it took nearly half a century for the Muslims to conquer Barbary. *Tr.*]

³*An-Nujūmu'z-Zāhirah* by Yūsuf b. Taghrībardī, Vol. I [Cairo, 1929, p. 235, *Tr.*], where 19 H. (639 C.) is mentioned as the date of Mūsa's birth.

['Umar, second Khalīfah, 634—644; Roderic, last Visigothic King, 710—711. *Tr.*]

dealing he was nearly eighty, he had still in him all the vigour of youth. Spain was then under the sway of Roderic, King of the Visigoths, whose Kingdom included Roussillon, a part of Provence and the Languedoc, and his banner flew over a large number of flourishing towns and was carried in the vanguard of numerous armies. But the spirit of disunion had taken possession of the Visigoths, and corruption had weakened the courage of the people, so that it was easy to perceive that a kingdom, though very powerful in appearance, would yet succumb to the attack of a comparatively small number of enthusiastic invaders, who, while thirsting for booty, sincerely believed that they had been deputed by their God to put the affairs of the world in order.

The first attempt made by Mūsa to land on the European continent was accomplished with the help of a few Berbers who landed at a place where the town of Ṭarīfa now stands,¹ overran the coast of Andalusia, lifted cattle from wherever they found them and destroyed undefended towns. As the Berbers did not meet with any resistance, Mūsa in the following year (711 A.C.) sent a much larger Berber force, twelve thousand strong, commanded by his manumitted slave Ṭāriq son of Ziyād—the same Ṭāriq who gave his name to the rock of Gibraltar on which he landed.² While the pious

¹This place was named after the Muslim leader Ṭarīf.

²Gibraltar or Jebel-ut-Ṭāriq, means Ṭāriq's Hill. Conde was mistaken in supposing that Ṭarīf and Ṭāriq were identical persons. See Nuwairī [*Nihāyat al-Adab*, Cairo, 1923, in 12 volumes, Spanish edition text and translation published by G. Remeiro as *Historia de los Musulmanos de España y Africa por Ebn Nugueri*, Granada, 1917. The historical portion of the work is entitled *Al-Fann al-Thānī wal-'Ishrī* (the 22nd article). *Tr.*].

among the Muslims thought that the war on which they were about to embark was one which would swell the ranks of the Faithful, to those who aimed only at glory, wealth and pleasure it seemed that they would enter a land, rich and fertile, where they would be able to find all that usually lends itself to human desires.

This comparatively small force under Ṭāriq's leadership proved to be quite sufficient to put an end to the army of the Goths. Roderic was beaten and his head sent as a trophy to the court of Damascus.¹ In less than a year Ṭāriq had taken possession of the cities of Cordova, Malaga and Toledo. An Arab writer narrates the story that Ṭāriq killed some prisoners by way of inspiring terror among his enemies and sent their flesh to his soldiers.² One of the principal causes of his remark-

¹[It is not clear how Roderic actually met his death. According to the general tradition he disappeared after the Battle of the Guadalete, and it is believed that he fell in battle. We do not know how the learned author has concluded that his head was sent to Damascus. On the other hand Dr. Rafael Altamira actually says that Roderic survived the action and even took part in the later wars against the Muslims; *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, pp. 185, 186. Tr.]

²*Histoire de la conquête de l'Espagne par les Mussulmans* by Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, Arab. MSS of the Royal Library, Paris, Anc. Fonds, 706. [*Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, Fr. tr. by Houdas, Paris, 1889; Urdu tr. by J. Rahman, Allahabad, 1940. Tr.] The author wrote during the later part of the tenth century. His name means *the son of the Goth woman* and signifies his descent from the ancient masters of the Peninsula. We find in this volume a chronicle of earlier centuries of Muslim rule by a contemporary writer whose citations savour of much certainty. [The episode is also mentioned by 'Abdul Raḥmān b. Ḥakam (who died in 257 H.=870 C.) in his *History of the Conquest of Andalus* (D. J. H. Jones edit., Goettingen, 1858, Arabic text, p. 3). This author mentions human flesh of certain enemy vintners, but says that it was a ruse to strike terror among the enemy, and the flesh was really thrown away. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's real name was Abū Bakr and he was descended from Sara, who was the

able success was the support which the invaders found in the Jewish population which at that time formed quite a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Spain. The Jews were longing to take revenge for the vexations and hardships to which they had been exposed under the rule of the Christian Goths, and sympathised with the conquerors among whom they saw a large number of men who also belonged to the Jewish faith.

Mūsa now wanted to have share in the glorious enterprise himself. He hastened from Africa with another army of Arabs and Berbers, among whom was one of the Prophet's own companions aged nearly 100 years,¹ as well as a number of the descendants of the Prophet's companions. Mūsa took his army to different parts of the country and subjugated Merida, Sarragossa and some other cities. He now tried to penetrate further into the enemy's country and took with him the élite of his forces which were all lightly armed. The infantry was composed of a very small number of soldiers and carried nothing with their arms excepting a provision-sack and a copper basin. Every squadron and battalion had a certain number of mules for the purposes of transport.

The Arab authorities relate that Mūsa followed up his success, penetrating right into the French

grand-daughter of Witiza the Visigothic King, who married 'Īsā b. Muzāhim. He was one of the most learned men of the period, He was born at Cordova and died there in 397 H. See the genealogy in Whishaw, *Arabic Spain* on pp. 410-11 and Urdu tr. of *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, p. 42. Tr.]

¹[The name of this venerable Companion of the Prophet was Munaizir; see Maqqārī, Vol. II, p. 52. Also see Ibn Athīr *'Usudu'l-Ghabah*, Cairo edition, IV. 417, 422. Tr.]

territory. At Narbonne he found in a church seven statues made of pure silver, while at Carcassonne he took from St. Mary's Church seven huge columns of solid silver.¹ The name of France in the Arabic language meant *Vast Land*,² and connoted all the portions of territory situated between the Pyrenees, the Atlantic Ocean, the river Elbe and the Greek Empire, landmarks which were the frontiers of Charles Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne, and where, as the Arabs themselves confessed, quite a large number of dialects were spoken.

What astounded the Christians most was the extraordinary phenomenon that the Muslim forces were to be found in various places almost simultaneously. When a part of the country submitted to them, the conquerors not only respected the property of the inhabitants but also the established form of their religion. They, however, took over a few churches which they turned into mosques and confiscated the goods belonging to them. They also took possession of all the vacant lands and everything left by the owners who had migrated elsewhere. At the same time they seized all the arms and horses which might prove useful to them in their onward march. Lastly they imposed a tribute on the inhabitants of the country, the rate of which varied with the condition of different places, and obtained from them hostages as a guarantee for their good faith. Those parts of the peninsula, however, which did not lay down their arms without fighting, were exposed to all the violence of con-

¹[Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 130. Tr.]

²Ard al-Kabīr.

quest, and the tribute which was levied on them was double that levied on others.¹ Sometimes the Muslims deemed it necessary to leave a garrison in the towns which they left behind, which partly consisted of Spanish Jews, whose hatred of the Christians was a sufficient guarantee of their loyalty towards the conquerors.

The Arab authors describe how Mūsa intended to return to the court of his master, the Khalīfah at Damascus, by way of Germany, the Straits of Constantinople and Asia Minor, thus threatening to change the Mediterranean into a huge lake which might serve the purpose of a communicating link between the various provinces of this vast Empire.²

The Christian authors make absolutely no mention of Mūsa's entry into France, and it seems probable that this invasion was limited to a few light incursions. It is, however, certain that at this juncture Christianity ran the greatest risk of being reduced to a dependent religion, and the present-day Christians might shiver at the very thought of what would have happened if discord and disunion had not divided the ranks of the Muslim conquerors !

From the very commencement of the conquest of Spain, Mūsa had viewed with keen jealousy the glory with which his lieutenant Ṭāriq was shining on the firmament of contemporary politics. Moreover, it is extremely likely that Mūsa would have liked to appropriate the greater part of the booty

¹We will speak later of the taxes levied by the Muslims in France as well as of their system of administration.

²Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 128.

himself, while easing his conscience by sending a few precious objects to his master, and thus satisfying the Quranic precept ordaining that a fifth of the booty should go to the ruler. Ṭāriq, on the other hand, wanted to follow this order strictly according to the law of Islam, so that after reserving the fifth for the Khalīfah he distributed the rest to his soldiers. The quarrel between the two leaders came to such a head that the Khalīfah began to consider that the only way out of the difficulty was to order the two rivals to appear before him.

The conquest of Spain and of a part of the Languedoc was accomplished in less than two years. Mūsa appointed his son 'Abdul 'Azīz as his representative and fixed Seville as the capital of the newly acquired territories, while he appointed another of his sons to take charge of the government of Africa with his capital at Qairuwan, a town situated a few days' journey from Tunis towards the interior of the country. The government of Spain was to be under the general supervision of the governor of Africa.

As Mūsa had no fleet at his disposal which might take him to Syria, he chose the land route and, after crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, followed the African coast-line as far as Egypt. He had in his train fifty thousand hostages furnished by the vanquished nations, among whom were to be seen four hundred picked men of the noble families each of whom, according to the Arab historian, had the right of wearing a girdle and a golden crown. Moreover, Mūsa had with him a tremendous amount of booty, some of which was carried in wagons and the re-

mainder on beasts of burden.¹

‘ABDUL ‘AZĪZ B. MŪSA. 714—716

The dispute between Mūsa and his lieutenant had not yet been settled when the Khalīfah Walīd died in 715 A.C. and was succeeded by his brother Sulaimān.² The new ruler treated the old warrior very badly, and not only imposed an extremely heavy penalty on him but began to prosecute his relations as well. Mūsa’s son, ‘Abdul ‘Azīz, who was now governor of Spain, had distinguished himself by his bravery and endeared himself to the Spanish people by his sense of justice and kindness. Like so many Arab leaders he wished to marry a Spanish lady, and chose the late King Roderic’s widow to be his wife. His affection for his new wife and the care with which he looked after the welfare of the people whose destiny was given to his charge, gave his enemies another pretext for accusing him of a desire to make himself the sovereign ruler of the new country. He was consequently ordered to be killed outright and his head was sent to Damascus where it was shown to his old father who was even then as full of youthful ambition as he had ever been before. At the sight of his son’s head the old man was so horrified that he cursed the day when he had sacrificed his comfort and his blood for such a barbarous master,³ and went to

¹Maqqarī, Vol. I. p. 108 ; Ibn al-Qutīyah.

²[715—717 A.C. *Tr.*]

³[Ibn Qutaibah (*Al-Imāmah wa’s-Siyāsah*, Cairo, 1331 A.H., Par II, pp. 79—81) has given a detailed account of the conversation between the Khalīfah and Mūsa, but we find no trace of the “curse” in it. *Tr.*]

die at home near Medina. Tāriq also spent the remaining days of his life in obscurity.¹

AL-ḤURR B. 'ABDUR RAḤMĀN AL-THAQAFĪ. 717—719

These events did not fail to give considerable trouble to the conquering nations, and their progress was consequently arrested. Moreover, the attention of the ruler of Damascus and of the Muslims of Asia and Africa was fixed on Constantinople, which was now besieged by an army of one hundred and twenty thousand Muslims and a fleet of eighteen hundred sail from the ports of Syria and Egypt. In spite of this distraction the Arabian authors² mention some new incursions carried out in the Languedoc under Al-Ḥurr in 718. They say that the conquerors advanced as far as Nîmes without meeting any serious obstacle and recrossed the Pyrenees with a large number of women and children as prisoners. It was then the custom both among the Christians and the Muslims that every

¹[Mūsa died at Wādiyu'l-Qurā while on pilgrimage to Mecca with Khalīfah Sulaimān in 97 A.H. (715 A.C.). See Ibn Taghravī Leiden, 1851, Vol. I. p. 261. Tr.]

²They are followed in this matter by a contemporary writer, Isidore, bishop of Beja, and by Roderic Ximenès, archbishop of Toledo. Isidore's account, as we read it in ordinary editions, is disfigured by a number of mistakes. Whatever quotations we give will therefore be from a copy included in the *Cartas para ilustrar la Historia de la España Árabe*, p. xx. ff. duly corrected after reading a number of manuscripts. As to Roderic Ximenès, who wrote in the XIII century and who in the main followed Arab authors, his literary relationship may be discovered with the Arabic chronicle of Elmacin which has been published in Arabic and Latin by Erpenius, Leyden, 1625, in fol.

[Conde, I. p. 7, says that the chronicle of Isidore of Beja is of closely limited extent for it embraces but a short period of time and abounds in errors. Tr.]

soldier had a share in the booty captured from the enemy, and as it was comparatively easy for the captors to sell the captives or else employ them in their households, they formed perhaps the most valuable part of the booty captured.

The Southern provinces of France were not in fit condition to oppose such a powerful enemy. This was the era of the *rois fainéants*, and the part of the Languedoc which was called Gothia (owing to the stay of the Goths), as well as Septimania (which was so called on account of the seven large towns, namely Narbonne, Nîmes, Agde, Béziers, Lodève, Carcassonne and Maguelone situated there) were included in the territory of Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine. But Eudes, who was proud to be descended from Clovis and who was consequently related to the princes of Northern France,¹ was much vexed to see the Mayors of the Palace in the ascendant in those parts, and his policy consisted in preventing those ambitious officials from supplanting the authority of their masters. On the other hand the Mayors of the Palace only dreamt of increasing their own power, and were occupied in maintaining the authority of the Franks, which extended right into German territory, and watched with indifference the progress of the Muslims northward.

¹Here we have followed the opinion expressed in Don Vaissette's *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, which has been accepted by the author of the *Art de vérifier les Dates*.

[Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, 717—735. The Merovingian King in 716 was Chlothair IV of Austrasia, while the Mayor of the Palace was Charles, later surnamed *Martel* or the Hammer. *Tr.*]

Thus both the Languedoc and Provence, which had so far been governed by the Goths, were left to rely entirely on their own resources. Although the mass of the population which was descended from the Gauls and the Roman colonists was still named after the early Roman conquerors, yet the ruling classes were of the Gothic stock. The two races preserved a clear line of demarcation, so that each followed its own customs and usage. In addition to this state of affairs there were certain groups which aimed at arrogating to themselves all power and authority.

What saved the South of France was the disunion and disorder which appeared very early among the conquerors themselves. We have seen that Spain was a part of the great Province of Africa, which was directly subordinate to the Khalifah reigning at Damascus. It was naturally impossible that such a divided authority, the seat of which was to be found simultaneously in a number of countries, should be able to preserve order among men who had taken part in the conquest and to keep the balance between the Arabs and Berbers on the one hand and between the Muslims and non-Muslims on the other. Moreover, as the land taken away from the Christians had become the prize only of the powerful, the ordinary soldiers complained of not having been awarded sufficient for their services, and were more than once led to commit acts of violence.

Another circumstance which proved to be fortunate for France, was the resistance which

some of the Spanish Christians began to offer to the aggressors. A handful of soldiers, loyal to their religion and their country, fled to the mountains of the Asturias, Galicia and Navarre, and under the leadership of Pelayo embarked on a struggle which came to an end only with the complete expulsion of the Muslims from Spain.¹

When the new Khalifah of Damascus, 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Aziz, came to know of the real state of affairs in the West, he appointed Al-Samh, a man already known in Spain for his zeal and ability, to remedy these evils. The new representative of the Central Government was celebrated both as an administrator and as a soldier, and the Khalifah charged him with the work of improving of the finances of the country and of pacifying the army. He immediately redistributed the land acquired in the recent conquests among the soldiers and such honest and trustworthy persons as might be relied upon to pay their quota of revenue to the public treasury. Moreover, the new Governor was ordered to prepare an exact census of the conquered lands, which should contain not only the statistics of their human population but also indicate their exact economic resources.²

¹The story of the early efforts of the Spanish Christians in the mountains of northern Spain to throw off the yoke of the Muslims is related by the Arab as well as the Christian authors. It is Conde's mistake not to have mentioned it and his silence has caused some to believe that their account is without foundation. [Pelayo, "King" of the Asturias, 718—738. *Tr.*]

²A contemporary writer, Isidore de Bèja, says on p. L : "*Zama ulteriorem vel citeriorem Hiberiam proprio stylo ad vectigalia inferenda describit praedia et manualia, vel quidquid illud es quod olim praedabiliter*

AL-SAMḤ B. MĀLIK AL-KHAULĀNĪ. 719—721

The pious Khalifah, 'Umar, was frightened of letting such a large population in Spain remain faithful to their old religion, and perhaps would have liked to have compelled the Christians of Spain and Septimania to leave their country and to live somewhere in the very heart of the Empire where their presence might not be so dangerous. Al-Samḥ, however, assured the Prince that the number of the newly converted Muslims was increasing by leaps and bounds every day, and the time was drawing near when there would be no Law left in Spain save that of Islam. The Arab authors from whom we have taken this narrative wrote at the time when the Christians had already come down from their mountain fastnesses and had begun to spread in the southern provinces of Spain, and they deplore the governor's weakness, regretting that the idea of the Khalifah was not carried out.¹

indivisum redemptabat in Hispaniâ gens omnis Arabica, sorte sociis dividendo (partem reliquis militibus dividendam), partem ex omne re mobili et immobili fisco associat." The corresponding passage of Roderic Ximenès is worded thus: "Zama proprio stylo descripsit vectigalia Hispanorum; et quod prius indivisum ab Arabibus habebatur, ipse partem reliquis militibus dividendam, partem fisco de mobilibus et immobilibus assignavit, et Galliam narbonensam divisione simile ordinavit."—Roderic Ximenès, *Historia Arabum*, p. 10. Also vide Conde, Vol. I, pp. 99 ff. Conde attributes to Al-Samḥ's successor what is generally attributed to Al-Samḥ himself. We have already said that this question will be discussed when we come to the taxes imposed by the Muslim rulers of Spain and France.

¹Ibn al-Qūṭiyah; Maqqarī, Vol. II, p. 56. [Here Reinaud seems to have misunderstood the whole passage. What the Khalifah 'Umar II wanted was that the Muslims should be called back from Spain as they had strayed off from the mother land of Islam. Maqqarī seems to have regretted why this was not done. Also vide Ibn al-'Adharī, *Al-Bayān al-Maghrib*, Dozy edit., Leiden, 1849, Vol. II, p. 25. Tr.]

Al-Samḥ was also ordered to rekindle among his warriors that zeal and enthusiasm against the Christians which had become slightly cold owing to the fact that so many ambitions of theirs had already been satisfied. He was to tell them that the Holy War was most pleasing to God Almighty and was the source of all Divine favours in this as well as the next world.

After he had succeeded in establishing order in the newly conquered provinces, Al-Samḥ made up his mind to satisfy his zeal by some brilliant exploit. He could have turned his efforts against the Christians of the North and crushed them before they had time to strengthen their positions, but he preferred to march into France instead, thus making up his mind to succeed where Mūsa had failed before him. This was in 721, when the occupant of the throne of Damascus was Yezīd who had succeeded the pious Khalīfah 'Umar II. It is now that the French Chroniclers begin to talk of the bands of the Saracens and their leader 'Zama,' who came accompanied by their wives and daughters, old and young, with the intention of permanently occupying the fair land of France. Ever since the conquest of Spain eleven years before, many poor families of Arabia and Syria, Egypt and Africa, had been migrating to that country, and their leaders looked forward to conquering new land in order to satisfy the numberless needs of these people.¹

¹Cf. Dom Bouquet's chronicle of the abbey of Moissac, in the collection entitled the *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. II, p. 654; Paul Diacon:

Following in the footsteps of his predecessors-in-title, Al-Samḥ advanced right into the Languedoc and laid siege to Narbonne which had no doubt been fortified in the interval. The town was forced to open its gates, while the conquerors put its male inhabitants to the sword and turned women and children into slaves. Narbonne, situated as it was near the sea and in the very centre of the marshy lands, was on the one hand open to the attack of the Muslim navy, while on the other it could be made strong enough to make a prolonged resistance to the army of the enemy. With these considerations before his mind, Al-Samḥ decided to make it a Franco-Muslim stronghold, and consequently strengthened its already existing fortifications. After making his position secure and occupying the neighbouring towns, he marched towards Toulouse, the capital of Aquitaine. Eudes, fearing for the safety of his capital, hastened to its help with all the forces he could command. But the Muslims had already commenced the siege of the town; they were using the catapults which they had brought with them, and were trying to push the inhabitants from the ramparts by means of their slings. The result was that when Eudes arrived, the town was already on the point of surrendering to the enemy. However, the Christian forces which were now hurled on the besiegers were so numerous that (according to the Arab writers) the dust raised by their feet darkened the very daylight. Al-Samḥ

was constantly tuning up the spirit of his soldiery and reciting to them the passages of Holy Writ that when God Himself was for them who could be against them. The Arab authorities say that the two armies advanced against one another with the impetuosity of a torrent as it rushes from the top of a hill, or like two mountains which might be fighting a tremendous duel. The battle was fiercely fought and the success was for a long time uncertain. Al-Samḥ showed himself on all points of the battlefield, everywhere encouraging his soldiers by his sword as well as by his gestures, while his passage was marked by long traces of blood dripping from his sword. But while he was in the midst of the thickest *mélée*, a lance struck him and he fell dead from his horse. Seeing the brave leader fall, the Saracens lost all heart and retired leaving the battlefield covered with the corpses of their gallant comrades. This battle took place in the month of May, 721, and in it perished a large number of illustrious Muslims some of whom had taken a prominent part in the previous conquests,¹ the remnant retiring into Spain under the leadership of 'Abdul Raḥmān al-Gḥafīqī, the *Abderame* of the French chroniclers.

This success encouraged the people of the Languedoc and the Pyrenees, who hurried to shake off the Muslim yoke. The Saracens, however,

¹Cf. Conde, Vol. I, pp. 95, 96; Isidore de Beja, p. L; Anastase the Librarian: *Vie du Pape Gregoire II*, in Muratori's great collection, Vol. III, part i, p. 155; and the Moissac chronicle, collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. II, p. 654.

remained masters of Narbonne, and the possession of this advanced post facilitated their incursions in the neighbourhood. When help was at last sent to them from Spain, they restarted their offensive and put to fire and sword nearly the whole province of the Languedoc.

During the time we are scanning it was thought that the churches and convents were places where any amount of wealth was hoarded. In addition to this consideration it was but natural for the Saracens to hurl themselves against these outward places of piety since it was these asylums of refuge which were the first to give the signal for resistance. But we must also remember that what little gleaning we get of the events of this period of the history of France is the work of monks and clergymen, so that it is not surprising that churches and convents are made to play such a large part in the narratives which have come down to us.

Some of the documents going back to a fairly early epoch relate how the Saracens destroyed the monastery of St. Bausile near Nîmes, the convent of St. Gilles near Arles, and the rich abbey of Psalmodie near Aiguesmortes. It is said that the last named abbey was so called because the monks had taken a vow to sing the praises of the Almighty night and day. However, the arrival of the Muslims was so sudden that the monks had no time to flee to a place of refuge or to remove the relics of the saints to a safer place.¹ The invaders

¹*Histoire de Nîmes* by Ménard, Vol. I, pp. 98 ff.

took care to smash the church bells and the instruments with which the clergy called the Faithful to prayer.¹

There is no doubt that the Muslims met with some resistance on the part of the inhabitants of the country. As a general rule the Muslims did not commit such acts of violence in those parts of the country which submitted to them of their own free will, and of course it may be that these incursions were the work of a few isolated bands of the invaders.

‘AMBISAH B. SAḤĪM AL-KALBĪ. 721—725

In 724 the new governor, ‘Ambisah, resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, and himself crossed the Pyrenees with a large army. Carcassonne was soon taken and delivered to the fury of the soldiers; Nîmes opened its gates and its hostages were sent to Barcelona to be responsible for the loyalty of its inhabitants.² Isidore of Béja says that the conquests of ‘Ambisah were due to his shrewdness rather than mere force of arms, and so great was the importance of these conquests that the silver looted from Gaul this time was double that of what had been obtained in the previous year.³

¹Nuwairī, as above.

²Moissac's chronicle, Collection of the *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. II, p. 654.

³We should like to quote the exact words of Isidore de Béja, which are extremely clear: "Ambiza cum gente Francorum pugnas meditando et per directos satrapas insequendo, infeliciter certat. Fertivis vero obreptionibus per lacertorum cuneos nonnullus civitates demutilando stimulat: Sicque vectigalia christianis duplicata exagitans, fascibus honorum apud Hispanias valde triumphat," *Cartas*, p. LII. Some authors

‘ADHRAH B. ABĪ ‘ABDULLAH AL-FIHRĪ. 726

After ‘Ambisah’s death which occurred during one of these expeditions, his successor, ‘Adhrah, was obliged to take army back to the frontier. But war soon broke out afresh and auxiliary contingents were sent from Spain to the war area. In view of the fact that the Muslim armies had met with so little resistance, the commanders were not afraid of sending the contingents in all directions, and, as an Arab author says, the wind of Islam began for the time to blow from all sides against the Christian foe. The country of Septimania right up to the Rhône, the Albigeois, Rouergue, Gévaudan and le Veley were overrun by the invaders and were subjected to the most terrible ravages, so that what was left by the sword was given over to the fire. The horror was so great that there were not a few among the invaders themselves who were thoroughly shocked and disgusted. Nothing save such precious objects as could be carried away escaped destruction, and articles such as arms, horses and weapons, which could increase the strength of the conquerors and weaken the natives, were taken back to Spain.

Among the places which had to suffer at the hands of the conquerors we read the name of the diocese of Rhodès. They settled down in a castle which some believe to have been at Roqueprieve, while others name Balaquier as the most probable

have concluded from this passage that ‘Ansabah doubled the rate of taxes which were levied on the Christians of France ; but we think that this conclusion does not tally with the actual facts of the case.

place.¹ The Muslims were helped by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood in their undertaking, so they overran the country without any fear of reprisals. We have an interesting though dubious story given by a poet who wrote in the beginning of the 9th century, i.e., a century and a half of the occurrence he relates, and it is so enthralling that we cannot help quoting it here. He relates that there was a certain young man named Datus or Dadon who had taken up arms against the invaders, and, having left his mother at home, had gone to the front with the warriors of the country. While he was away, the Saracens invaded his house, ransacked it and took Dadon's mother and all they found in the house to their stronghold. On hearing of this disaster Dadon rushed with his companions armed from head to foot. Dadon and his friends wanted to force the entry of the castle but as the cruel hawk, after having caught hold of a timid bird in the air, retires with his prey, leaving the companions of his victim to fill the sky with the sound of his lamentations, in the same manner the Moors, sitting comfortably behind the ramparts of their stronghold, laughed at Dadon's threats to force the castle. As it was utterly impossible to force the fortress, Dadon left the place saying goodbye to the world, and retired into solitude on the banks of the Dourdogne where the Monastery of Conque

¹*Essais historiques sur le Rouergue*, by the Baron of Gaujal, Limoges, 1824, 2 vols. in 8vo., vol. I, p. 170. M. de Gaujal tells us in a private note that there still exists a third fort called the *Castel-Sarrazin* on the Larzac plateau near St. Eulalie, where the Muslims seem to have fortified themselves.

was built later.¹

In the absence of more solid evidence, another episode might enable us to know the character of the terrible onslaught to which the greater part of France was subjected. The scene is laid in the Monastery of Monastier in the Velay country. Before the Saracens arrived at this place they had already invaded the dioceses of Puys and of Clermont and ransacked the church of Brioude.² When they were approaching Monastier, the abbot St. Theofroi (also known as St. Chaffre) assembled all the monks and implored them to seek refuge in the neighbouring woods taking the precious objects of the monastery with them. He begged them to remain hidden till things improved and they could come back to their work. As for himself, he said that he had made up his mind to submit to any treatment the invaders might decide to mete out to him ; happy, if by his exhortations, he could guide them into the path of virtue ; he said that he would be happier still if by his death he could gain the crown of martyrdom. On hearing these

¹The poem of Ermoldus Nigellus, first published by Muratori, then by Dom Boquet (*Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. VI), and lastly by M. Pertz (*Monumenta Germanicae historiae*, Vol. II, p. 466 ff.). Ermoldus Nigellus's evidence about Dadon (which begins on line 207 of his work) is confirmed by a capitulary of Louis the Gentle in favour of the Conque abbey, dated 819. (Vide *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, p. 236.) As a matter of fact neither the pact nor this capitulary makes any mention of the Muslim invasion of Rouergue. While on the one hand we know that Dadon died towards the end of the eighth century, on the other the poet calls Dadon by the nickname of *the young*, and this takes us back about the year 730. The Conque monastery existed right up to the French Revolution.

²*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. II, p. 468.

words, his monks burst out into tears and begged him to flee with them to the forest or allow them to die with him. The Saint, however, remained as firm as before so far as his own person was concerned; as for them, he said that it was more pleasing to the Almighty if one hoped later on to make oneself more useful in the cause of religion. As an instance he related to them the story of St. Paul, who, when pursued by the Jews of Damascus, allowed himself to be let down from the walls of the city in a basket. He also related to them how St. Peter would have fled from the wrath of the Emperor Nero if God himself had not come and kept him back. So far as he himself was concerned, he said that it was sometimes necessary for the shepherd to sacrifice himself for the safety of his flock, and perhaps he would have the good fortune of opening the eyes of the invaders and of exposing to them the vista of the True Path; while if he was put to death, he would perhaps appease the Divine Wrath which had no doubt been inflamed owing to the sins of mankind.

At last the monks had to give way. The next day after they had attended the mass at the abbey and listened to the exhortation of their abbot, they took charge of all the precious objects and left the monastery. Only two of them secretly remained behind, and hid themselves on the top of a neighbouring hillock in order to see what was going to happen.

When the Saracens arrived at the monastery, the abbot had retired into a corner of his charge

and was fervently praying to his God, so that they paid no attention to him but looked for the rich booty they expected to find there. Perhaps they also wanted to take the youngest and the strongest of the monks with them in order to sell them as slaves in Spain. When they discovered that not only the monks had all gone but had taken all that was precious in the monastery with them, they threw the abbot on the ground and showered blows on him.

Now this was a day on which the invaders were wont to offer sacrifice to God. The chronicler from whom we have taken this account does not tell us the perquisites of this sacrifice but only that the ceremony consisted in offering libations, which leads us to believe that the band of foreigners, which invaded le Velay did not follow Islam but was composed of Berbers of whom many were still plunged in the darkness of idolatry. Whatever the truth may have been, when the invaders had retired to perform their religious ceremonies, the Abbot, believing this to be the most favourable time to make them realise their evil ways, went up to them and told them that instead of thus wasting their time in worshipping the demon it would be far better for them to reserve their homage to the One who was the Creator of the whole universe. This untimely exhortation redoubled the fury of the invaders, and the chief priest of the sacrifice caught hold of a big stone which was lying nearby and flung it at the head of the abbot who immediately fell to the ground almost lifeless. The

invaders were preparing to burn down the monastery to ashes when all of a sudden it was announced that the Christian troops were approaching or, as our chronicler says, God was deeply angered at this outrage on a Christian place of worship and caused a sudden tempest to rise which obliged the invaders to flee for their dear lives ! The Saint, however, died a few days afterwards, but his death made it possible for his flock to return to their abode with safety.¹

Neither the Muslim authors make it quite clear nor are the Christian writers unanimous as to the exact date of the Arab penetration into Dauphine, the Lyons country and Burgundy, but we think that we should fix these invasions about this time. As a Muslim writer says, "God filled the hearts of the Christians with terror. If any one of them came before the Muslims it was only to beg for mercy. The Muslim armies continued to progress onwards, conquering countries, according safeguards to the inhabitants, till they reached the Valley of the Rhône. From there they advanced right

¹The Roman Catholic Church celebrates the anniversary of the Saint's death on the 19th October. For episodes in his life, the reader might consult Mabillon : *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, sect. III, part I, pp. 476 ff. Le Monastier, also called St. Chaffre, existed right up to the Revolution.

[But see the episode connected with the sack of the Lerins monastery, below. The extreme similarity between the two episodes, the hiding of one or two monks in a place of safety, their relation of the episode to the outer world, the belabouring of the abbot, and the miraculous reconquest of the monastery by the Christians, all these things are either a set of most curious coincidences or else transparent innovations. Also see the author's own estimate of Christian authorities in the introduction and on p. 10 supra. *Tr.*]

up to the very heart of the land of France.”¹

The places which the Saracens captured could only be known by the ravages which they committed there. In the neighbourhood of Vienne on the banks of the Rhône, the churches and monasteries were all left in complete ruins. Lyons, which the Arabs called “Lūzūn,” had to mourn the destruction of some of its churches²; Macon and Chalons on the Saône were sacked; Beaume was destroyed³; Autun’s two churches, the church of St. Nazaire and the church of St. Jean, were put to the flame; the monastery of St. Martin which was situated in the vicinity of the town, was pulled down⁴; the abbey of St. Andoche at Saulieu was pillaged,⁵ while the Saracens razed to the ground the monastery of Bèze near Dijon.⁶

These incursions of the Muslims which, according to universal opinion, must have extended over a much longer expanse of territory,⁷ were undertaken

¹Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 128. [M, has copied Ibn-Hayyān, but has mentioned these facts in connection with the conquests of Mūsa and Ṭāriq. *Tr.*]

²*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. IV, p. 51. [For Arabic names of places in southern France and Spain, see ‘Ināyatallah, *Jughrāfia-i-Andalus*, Hyderabad Deccan, 1927. *Tr.*]

³*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. IV, pp. 860 and 1042.

⁴Moissac’s Chronicle, in the collection entitled *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. II, p. 655. There exists a charter of Charles the Bald dated 844 which deals with the identical subject. Vide Dom Plancher’s *Histoire de Bourgogne*, Vol. I, Proofs, p. vii, and the *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. IV, p. 450.

⁵*Histoire de Bourgogne*, op. cit.

⁶D’Acheri’s *Spicilege*, edition in fol. Vol. II, p. 411.

⁷It was thought right up to our own time that the Muslims had sent their detachments on the one hand to the banks of the Loire near Nevers, and on the other to Burgundy, and destroyed the monastery of St. Colomban, while at Besançon the clergy and a large number of monks were put to death. There is nothing unlikely about this view specially

without any prearranged plan, and the fact that, in spite of this, they met with but feeble resistance only shows the deplorable condition in which

so far as Burgundy is concerned, where many a locality is still called by some form of the name 'Saracen.' It is moreover added that the abbey of Luxeuil at that foot of the Vosges was taken and the clergy with their leader St. Mellin put to the sword. See Father Lecoq, *Annales ecclesiastici Francorum*, Vol. IV, p. 728 ff. Also Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, Vol. II, p. 88, and *Acta sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedictini*, Vol. III, part I, M. 527 ff.

It is the opinion of those who hold the above account to be correct that the Arabs met with a serious obstacle only when they reached Sens. The bishop of this town was Ebbes or Ebbon, Count of Tonnerre, who was so good and God-fearing that he is now regarded as a saint. When the invaders approached this place, Ebbes began to prepare himself for withstanding their onslaught. It was useless for the Saracens to attack the stronghold with their machines of war, for the bishop began to hurl burning darts from the ramparts on to the enemy which put fire to their machines, while at the same time he made a sally which caused the invaders to fly for their lives.

But as a matter of fact there is no contemporary evidence with regard to all these interesting accounts, and there is not one of them in which the name 'Saracen' or any other name, by which the followers of Islām were then called, occurs. The authors of these outrages are in fact called *Wendes*, *Vandales* or *Gandales*. We know that the Huns, like the Vandals of old, crossed Germany in the tenth century, and coming right into France, ransacked Alsace, Lorraine, Burgundy, Franche Comté, Champagne and nearly the whole of what was left of France, and these Huns were dubbed Vandals. Moreover the authors of the Chivalric romances and, later on, the Chroniclers, went to the length of putting to the credit of Charlemagne, Pepin and Charles Martel the principal events of French history which really happened either before or after this period. Taking these facts into consideration, we think that at least half of the ravages perpetrated by the so-called Vandals and attributed by the Benedictines and other learned men, who ought to have known better, to the Muslims, should be ascribed to the Huns or to the real Vandals. The reason why such respectable men of light and learning could commit this blunder is to be found in the fact that the writings where the detail of the ravages committed by a nation called Wendes or Vandals is related, such as the *Roman de Garin le Loherain* and Jacques de Guise's *Histoire de Hainault*, have only been published quite lately. See also what we have already said in our introduction.

France must have been, and proves the utter absence of any government which could protect its subjects. But if these incursions are compared to the invasion of Spain by the Arabs which had occurred only a few years before, it becomes manifest that with the exception of some individuals who had neither a religion nor a country to call their own, the invaders met absolutely with no sympathy on the part of the natives, and nowhere did any large portion of the population make common cause with them. Even in towns like Narbonne and Carcassonne, where the Muslims had established themselves in a most thorough manner, the mass of the population still remained faithful to their own religion.

While these events were taking place nothing is mentioned either about Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine or about Charles Martel who was at this time Mayor of the Palace of the Austrasian Kings. Eudes, who was not attacked at the centre of his lands as in the previous year, hesitated to oppose so formidable an enemy. As to Charles, he was busy subjugating the Frisians, the Bavarians and the Saxons who were continuously threatening to cross the Rhine and to establish themselves right in the very seat of his authority. We thus see why it was that he did not try to check the Arab onslaught on Burgundy which was then under his rule. Moreover, we must remember that although Eudes and Charles were outwardly friendly to each other, yet they were watching each other with jealousy, and it was easy to perceive that in the long run

one of them would have to submit to the other. The Muslim authors, who knew nothing of this tragic state of affairs and who had learned the strength with which Charles Martel (whom they called *Qārlah*) was wont to avenge insults, were at a loss to find the reason for his inaction, and they explain the situation as follows :

Several members of the French gentry went and complained to Charles of the excesses committed by the Muslims describing to him the shame of all if men who were armed lightly and as a general rule lacked military apparel were allowed successfully to face the warriors armed with cuirasses and all that was the latest in military dress. On hearing this, Charles replied in the following vein : "Friends, let them go on as they like. At this moment they are full of courage and are like a torrent which uproots everything which comes in its way. Their zeal answers to our cuirasses and their courage to our forts. But when their hands will be full of booty, when they have begun to like beautiful houses and when ambition has taken possession of their chiefs and disunion penetrates their ranks then will be the time for us to go and finish them off without any difficulty."¹

‘ABDUR RAḤMĀN AL-GHĀFIQĪ. 731—732.

In 731 the government of Spain passed on to ‘Abdur Raḥmān who was no other person than the general who had brought back the Muslim army into Spain after the death of As-Samḥ before

¹Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 129.

Toulouse. During the time between his return and his appointment, he had commanded the part of the peninsula which lies at the foot of the Pyrenees. By nature strict and just, 'Abdur Raḥmān made himself loved by his troops on account of the selflessness with which he abandoned to them the booty taken from the enemy. Besides he was held in veneration by the pious among the Musalmans because he had been a companion of one of the sons of the second Khalīfah, 'Umar, a fact which enabled him to collect a mass of information about the life of his Prophet.¹

'Abdur Raḥmān was impatient to avenge the partial checks which the Muslim army had met in France during the previous year. He wanted to subjugate the whole of that country once for all, and considered himself able to accomplish the idea of uniting Italy, Germany and the Greek Empire to the already vast conquests which had been made by the champions of the Qur'ān. As religious enthusiasm was still strong among the Arabs, and as the climate and fertility of Spain and southern France were a source of great attraction to them, there was a continuous influx of warriors and adventurers from all countries, especially from the Atlas mountains and the deserts of Africa and Arabia. As these men arrived, they were taught to wield arms and were

¹[Reinaud says that 'Abdur Raḥmān became governor of Andalus in 730 ; but as a matter of fact he did not take over the charge of the province till September or October 731 and relinquished office in October of the next year. "One of the sons" is no less a person than the famous traditionist, 'Abdallah b. 'Umar. *Tr.*]

trained to become soldiers of the Commonwealth. While waiting for the finishing touches to be applied to the preparations for advance, 'Abdur Raḥmān, who habitually resided at Cordova (which had now become the seat of government), visited the various provinces of Spain in order to attend to the petitions of his subjects. The Qā'ids or Governors, who had betrayed their trust, were everywhere replaced by honest men; Muslims and Christians were treated, if not absolutely alike, at least according to the laws and treaties. He restored to the Christians the churches of which they had been unjustly deprived, though he pulled down those which the corrupt local governors had allowed to be built after filling their own pockets.

In the meantime, the Muslims, who were no doubt masters of Narbonne, Carcassonne, and the remaining parts of Septimania, continued to make incursions into the neighbouring parts of France. A peculiar circumstance, however, preserved some of the Christian provinces for a time. The man who commanded the Muslim army in Cardagne and in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees was, according to Isidore of Béja and Roderic Ximenès, Manuza, one of those African soldiers who had allied with the Arabs and had largely contributed to the conquests of Spain. He had in the beginning shown himself utterly merciless to the Christians of the country and had even caused a Bishop named Anambadus to be burnt alive. However, when quarrels arose between the Arabs and the Berbers, Manuza naturally sided with his

own countrymen whom he regarded as victims of injustice. He even made alliance with Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, who, in order to sanctify it, gave his daughter (called by some of our authorities, Lampégie), a girl famous for her good looks, in marriage to him.¹

Conde, no doubt following the narrative of certain Arab authors, describes the event a little differently. He says that Manuza, whom he mixes up with another person of Arab origin named 'Uthmān son of Abū Nas'ah who was Governor of Spain on two different occasions, was one of 'Abdur Raḥmān's rivals, and believed that he had superior claims to the governorship of the Spanish provinces to those of 'Abdur Raḥmān himself. In one of his expeditions, Manuza captured Lampégie, and was so much enamoured of her that he at length married her and allied himself with Eudes. Thus, when 'Abdur Raḥmān intended again to penetrate the interior of France with his army, Manuza considered himself in duty bound to oppose the intention of his rival and put forward his treaty with Eudes as an excuse for his conduct. 'Abdur Raḥmān refused to recognize a treaty to which he himself was not a party saying that no intermediary could exist between the Muslims and the Christians except the sword, while Manuza hastened to inform his father-in-law of all that was going on, in order to enable him to prepare himself for the

¹Isidore de Béja, p. lxi ; Roderic Ximenès, p. 12.

onslaught of the Muslims.¹

Whatever the truth may have been, when 'Abdur Raḥmān was informed of the relations which existed between his lieutenant and the Christians, he made up his mind to prevent their becoming an obstacle in the way of his project. So he ordered some chosen troops to advance towards the Pyrenees, and there they attacked Manuza at a moment when he least expected them. Strongly pressed and not in a condition to resist them, Manuza took his wife Lampégie with him and fled to the mountains. His enemies, however, followed him, giving him no breathing time, till at last, pursued from rock to rock, covered with wounds, suffering from hunger and thirst and unable to count on the support of his erstwhile Christian friends, he flung himself from a high hillock at Puycerda or thereabouts. His head was immediately cut off and sent to Damascus, while Lampégie was admitted to the seraglio of the

¹Conde, Vol. I, p. 83. A Christian author who continued Frédegaire's History, says that Eudes not only allied himself with the Muslims but it was he who invited them to come to France. This account, which is followed by many ancient and modern authors, seems to be without any foundation. Indeed, as Pagi, editor of *Annales de Baronius*, says (732, No. I), Frédegaire's continuator wrote under the influence of Charles Martel's brother Childebrand. As after the battle of Poitiers fresh quarrels arose between Eudes and Charles it is not surprising that Charles's own friends should have given currency to this tale. ['Uṯmān b. abī Nas'ah was not governor of Spain twice. Reinaud has really mixed up two different persons, namely, 'Uṯmān b. abī 'Abdihī, governor of Spain from 726 to 727, and 'Uṯmān b. Abī Nas'ah, governor of Spain from 727 to 728. See Gayangos, *History of the Mohammadan Dynasties in Spain*, London, 1843, Vol. II, p. 408. Tr.]

Khalifah.¹ If we believe in the account left to us by Roderic Ximenès, the troops of the Muslims made an attempt against the city of Arles about the same time as the events related above. That town was then in a very flourishing condition, and offered a strong resistance to the invaders. Roderic says that a sanguinary battle was fought on the banks of the Rhône, in which a large number of Christians lost their lives. Many were carried away by the waters of the Rhône, others were buried in Aliscamp, the old cemetery of Arles, which pious Frenchmen used to visit as late as the time of Ximenès himself, i.e., right up to the commencement of the thirteenth century.² The town of Arles is not definitely named by the Muslim authors; they nevertheless speak of a town which is perhaps no other than this well-known city. "Among the places," says one of them,

¹Isidore de Béja, p. lxi; Roderic Ximenès, p. 12.

²Aliscamp cemetery still exists, but most of its monuments have unfortunately been destroyed. Vide *Statistique du Département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, Vol. II, p. 438. If we believe Turpin's Chronicle, the fact mentioned by Roderic occurred in the reign of Charlemagne, and what is said of the Christians buried in Aliscamp was really true of the French soldiers killed at the battle of Roncesvalles or Roncevaux. Vide Ciampi's edition of the *Chronicle*, p. 83. On the other hand there exists a French poem called the *Poem of William the Short-nosed* which takes it for granted that the Muslims were masters of southern France in the reign of Charlemagne himself. In this poem it is mentioned that an important battle was fought near Arles where a number of Christians are said to have been killed. The part of this poem where this battle is described is called the *Bataille d'Aleschans*. It is said that the Christians were led by the son and grandson of Aimeri of Narbonne. William son of Aimeri ran the risk of his life many a time during the battle, while his nephew Vivien was killed. This account was first indicated to us by M. Paulin Paris and is in the National Library, La Vallière collection, No. 23.

“where the Muslims carried their arms, was a town situated in a vast plain, famous for its monuments.” Another author adds that this town was situated on the banks of one of the greatest rivers of the country, at a distance of two *farsangs* from the sea. The two banks of the river were connected by a very old and solid bridge, the supports of which were let in under the bed of the river, and the neighbourhood was covered by mills and intersected by highways.¹

The attack on Arles was made probably with the object of diverting the attention of the Christians. When the preparations, which ‘Abdur Raḥmān had been making for two years, were finished, the army began to retrace its steps towards the Pyrenees. Our authorities disagree with regard to

¹Vide Maqqarī, II, 57. Re. the bridge at Arles, it is probably the same which is mentioned by Ausonne in the following lines :

Praecipitis Rhodani sic intercissa fluentis,

Ut mediam facias navale ponte plateam.

Per quem Romani commercia supcipsis orbis.

(Ausonne, *Ordo nobilium urbium*, VIII.)

A number of traditions exist at Arles today about its occupation by the Muslims. M. Anibert, an advocate of Arles, published a treatise in 1779 in which he asserted that Mount Cordes, situated near the town, was so called because the Muslims established themselves there in order to make enquiries about the country and named it after the Spanish capital Cordova. There has been a discussion about the amphitheatre at Arles, and certain writers have supposed that this building, which is different from other buildings of the same kind in having towers all round it (of which two still exist), was really rebuilt and towers added to it by the Muslims. These problems had not been made clear when the book was written and they will probably never be made clear owing to the lack of contemporary material. We have, however, considered it our duty to refer to the matter here. [Farsang=6,000 yards or a little more than 3 miles. *Tr.*]

the actual time of the year when this expedition took place, but probably it was somewhere in the spring of 732. The army was numerous and full of enthusiasm. It seems that the Governor 'Abdur Raḥmān adopted the route across Aragon and Navarre, and that he entered France by the valleys of Bigorre and Béarn.¹ This fact is also proved by traces of pillage committed during the Saracens' precipitous march back to Spain after their defeat at the gates of Tours, for everywhere churches were burnt down, monasteries destroyed and men put to the sword. The abbeys of St. Savin near Tarbe, and of St. Sever-de-Rustan in Bigorre, were razed to the ground. Aire, Bazas, Oléron and Béarn were covered with ruins,² while the abbey of St. Croix Bordeaux was given up to the flames.³

Bordeaux could offer only a feeble resistance. In vain Eudes, who had had time to assemble all his troops, tried to prevent the Saracens from crossing the Dordogne. He was beaten, and the number of the Christians killed in the encounter was so great that, in the words of Isidore of Béja, God alone could determine it. Eudes was no longer in a position to continue the campaign, so he asked the help of Charles Martel, whose

¹Isidore de Béja says : " Tunc Abderraman multitudine sui exercitus repletam prospiciens terram, et fretosa ut plena percalcans, terras Francorum intus expersidat." On the other hand, we have the chronicle of the Moissac abbey, which says : " Abderraman cum exercitu magno per Pampelonam et Montes Pyreneos transiens, Burdigalem civitatem obsidet."

²*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, pp. 1149, 1192, 1244, 1247, 1261 and 1286. Béarn has been the see of a bishopric for a long time.

³*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 858.

domains, too, were on the point of being invaded and who had already called his veterans from the banks of the Danube, the Elbe and the shores of the Atlantic. Nothing could, it seemed, satisfy the rage of the invaders, for in the neighbourhood of Libourne they destroyed the monastery of St. Emilien, and at Poitiers burnt the churches of St. Hilaire.¹

The Arab authors speak of a native count who dared to oppose the progress of the invaders and who was caught and beheaded. The conquerors gained a rich booty from his capital containing, among other objects, a wealth of topaz, hyacinth and emerald. So great was their enthusiasm and their impetuosity that the Muslim authors themselves liken it to a tempest which uproots all, and to a sword which makes every one bow before it.²

The Arabs were preparing to capture the town of Tours with hopes of acquiring the rich treasures of the abbey of St. Martin, when the arrival of Charles Martel on the banks of the Loire was announced. The two armies prepared to come to close quarters immediately. Never did greater issues hang in the balance. For the Christians it was a question of saving their institutions, their property, their very lives. For the Muslims, besides their deep conviction that they were

¹*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. II, p. 881 ; and Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. II, pp. 454, 484, etc. [Charles Martel, Mayor of Austrasia, 717 ; of all the Franks, 719—741. *Tr.*]

²*Conde*, Vol. I, p. 109, [No reference to any Arab authority is, however, found there. *Tr.*]

defending the cause of God Himself, it was a question of being able to save the rich booty which was in their hands ; they, moreover, fully understood that it would be victory alone which would enable them to regain their homes in safety.

An Arab author says that when Charles was approaching the Arab camp, 'Abdur Raḥmān began to fear the slackness which had spread in the ranks of the Musalmans on account of the immense booty which the soldiers had obtained, and that for a moment he had the idea of inducing them to do away with a part of it. What he was afraid of was that, at the crucial moment, the riches acquired with such a great difficulty and trouble might become a cause of embarrassment. At the same time he did not desire to do anything which could make his soldiers discontented at this juncture, and relied on their bravery and his own good fortune. This weakness, says our Arab author, resulted in the most fatal consequences.

The same author describes how, notwithstanding the presence of Charles, the Muslims attacked the town of Tours with the greatest vigour, and that, like furious tigers, they satiated themselves with blood and pillage, an act which angered the Almighty and occasioned their disaster.¹ The Christian authors, whose narrative, it must be said, is extremely faulty, make no mention of the capture of Tours and take it for granted that the treasures of St. Martin remained intact. From this we may

¹Conde, Vol. I, p. 110.

deduce the fact that it must have been the suburbs alone which were delivered for a moment to the mercy of the foreigner.

At last after eight days had passed in watching each other, and after a few minor skirmishes had taken place, the two armies prepared for a general action. The Arab narrative already quoted gives one to understand that the battle took place in the vicinity of Tours, and this is also the opinion followed by Roderic Ximenès who wrote on the authority of the Arabs.¹ On the other hand, a majority of the French Chronicles, specially the Chronicle of the Moissac Abbey, written almost at the time the event was taking place, affirms that the battle took place near or in the suburbs of Poitiers. One can reconcile these two opinions by the supposition that the first encounter of the two armies took place at the gate of Tours, while the suburbs had already been captured by the Musalmans, and that in the engagement which took place in the neighbourhood of that city the Arabs lost ground, but their final ruin was completed under the walls of Poitiers.²

¹Cf. Conde, Vol. I, p. 110; the author of the *Cartas*, p. cxli; Isidore de Bèja, p. lxiii; Roderic Ximenès, p. 13.

²According to an old tradition current at Tours, the battle took place in the suburbs at St. Martin-le Bel (Sanctus Martinus à Bello not as some authors would have it, Sanctus Martinus à Betto). M. Chalmel, the author of the *Nouvelle Histoire de Tours*, published in 1828 (4 Vols. in 8vo.), and of a thesis about the battle which had already appeared in the *Tablettes Chronologiques*, Tours, 1818, thinks that the battle must have been fought three leagues from the city in the plain called the *Landes de Charlemagne* which he thinks ought to be the *Landes de Charles Martel*. In his *History of Tours* he quotes an account of the battle written by

According to a number of authors this event took place in October 732. It was the Saracens who commenced the action by a charge of the whole of their cavalry. The French were encouraged by the memory of their past victories and by the presence of Charles Martel who was seen wherever danger was most imminent. In vain did the Arabs, by the swiftness of their movements, seek to cause disorder in the ranks of the heavily armed Christians, who, as a contemporary writer says, resembled a wall or a sheet of ice which no effort could break,¹ so that even the most impetuous attacks came to nothing. The struggle lasted the whole day, and it was night alone which separated the two armies. The next day, however, the action was resumed. The Muslim soldiers, who had not expected such a violent resistance and were considerably weakened by their losses, now redoubled their efforts. All of a sudden, their camp was invaded by a detachment of the Christian army, probably commanded by the Duke of Aquitaine.² On hearing this the Saracens left their posts and went about trying to defend their hoard of booty. In vain did 'Abdur Raḥmān

a Muslim who was himself present at the battlefield, a French translation of which was sent to him by an unknown person. As this account is not found either in the Arabic manuscripts of the National Library of Paris or in Conde we are led to believe that it must be a faked one.

¹Isidore de Bèja says: "Atque dum acriter dimicant gentes septentrionales in ictu oculi ut paries immobiles permanentes, sicut et zona rigoris glacialiter manent adstrictae, Arabes gladio enecant."

²Paul Diacre in Muratori: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. I, p. 505. Paul Diacre has probably mixed up the battle of Poitiers and battle of Toulouse which was fought in 721.

rush up to re-establish order ; his efforts proved useless while he himself was struck by a Christian arrow and fell, expiring. This was the signal for utter disorder in the ranks of the Muslims some of them regaining their camp, but the great majority remaining lifeless on the battlefield.

When night came, Charles began to make preparation for the next day's action. But the Saracens, who had advanced into France with the object of subjugating it and who saw that they were not in a fit condition to make such a difficult conquest, thought that it was useless to continue the battle and profiting by the darkness of the night, they turned their steps back to the Pyrenees. So great was their hurry that they left their tents standing and did not even carry with them the rich booty which they had obtained and which had been the cause of their defeat.

So the next day when Charles again attempted to try the fortune of arms, he was informed of what had taken place, so he occupied the camp of the enemy and distributed the riches which he found heaped up there among his soldiers. But he did not follow the Saracen host, either because he feared that their sudden retreat hid some trap, or saw that his personal domains were henceforth safe from all danger. Whatever the reason may have been, it is certain that immediately after the battle, he recrossed the Loire, and directed his steps northward, proud of his brilliant triumph and it was here that he added to his name, *Charles*, already famous for a long chain of victories, the

title of *Martel* or *the Hammer* owing to the part which he had played in person in the success obtained on this occasion ; and because, in the words of the chronicle of St. Denis, as a hammer breaks and crushes iron, steel and all other metals, so did he break up and crush his enemies and all the other nations.'"¹

Thus ended the great effort made by the Spanish Arabs, the preparations for which had been made for some time past. We cannot believe the account furnished to us by certain Christian chroniclers who raise the number of the Muslims killed in the Battle of Tours to the large figure of three hundred and seventy-five thousand men. All the invaders could not have perished on the battlefield, and where could an army of four or five hundred thousand have come from, especially at a period when internecine war was the order of the day, and disorganization prevailed everywhere ? Even if we suppose that such an army did exist, how could it possibly have been maintained in a country like Aquitaine which had been overrun several times before, not only by the Muslims but also during the terrible war which had taken place between Charles and Eudes ? However, one cannot deny that 'Abdur Raḥmān's army was the most numerous and the best disciplined of all those which the Musalmans had launched against the fair land of France. Nothing proves our assertion better than the united efforts made by the French

¹Dom Bouquet, *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. III, p. 310.

people, and the place which this great event has always occupied in human history.

The Muslim writers, who had only a confused idea of the field where this battle was fought, have been unable to give an exact description of the march of the army. They content themselves with naming the battlefield the Plain of Martyrs¹ owing to the large number of devout Muslims who lost their lives there. They add that one can still hear on the place, sanctified by Muslim blood, the voices of the angels of heaven calling the faithful to prayers.

The remnant of the Arab army wended its way back to the Pyrenees, destroying all that they found *en route*. One of their detachments crossed the Marches near Guéret² destroying the abbey of Solignac in Limousin.³ It is probable that it was during this desperate retreat of the Saracens that they committed some of those ravages which we mentioned while describing their entry into France. An Arab authority says that the Muslims were pursued by the Christians at the point of the sword right up to the walls of Narbonne.⁴ It is possible

¹بلاط الشهداء Maqqarī, Vol. II, p. 9. [Maqqarī mentions two battles called بلاط الشهداء the first at Toulouse in 102 A.H (720 A.C.) in which Al-Samh was slain and the other at Tours in 732 (Maqqarī, Vol. II. p., 256). Ibn-Hayyān mentions the angels calling the faithful to prayers in connection with the Battle of Toulouse, not the Battle of Tour. *Tr.*]

²See the *Bollandistes*, Oct. 6, Life of St. Pardou, abbot of Waract.

³*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. II, p. 566.

Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 173. Perhaps Maqqarī is thinking of what really happened five years later when Charles Martel marched right into the Languedoc.

that instead of returning to his domains, Eudes sought to take vengeance on the retreating Muslims for harm done to his estate by them on their march northwards.

The news of this disaster to the Muslim arms in France produced a great effect on the minds of Christians as well as Muslims. The Christians of the Pyrenees and the northern provinces of Spain saw in this event the mark of Divine protection and they hastened to take up arms in the hope of regaining their independence.¹ The Musalmans, on the contrary, fell into despondency and sadness. Those of them who were pious by nature profited by the occasion and protested against the corruption which had taken place in the ranks of the Musalmans. There is no doubt that the love of luxury and pleasure had taken possession of those who had up till then been busy with nothing save the glory of Islam, instead of which everyone was now seeking only to satisfy his own passions and desires.

‘ABDUL MALIK B. QUTN AL-FIHRĪ. 732—734

‘Abdur Raḥmān’s lieutenant at Cordova hastened to inform the Governor of Africa and the Khalīfah of this sad event, so a new governor

¹We learn from the *Essai Historiques sur le Bigorre*, by M. d’Avezac, Vol. I, p. 108, that a part of the Muslim army fled into Bigorre and the native Christians took up arms under St. Missolin, a priest of Tarbes, cutting them to pieces. This account does not seem to be improbable in itself, but M. d’Avezac himself discovered later on that St. Missolin lived centuries before the invasion of the Muslims. Vide Gregory of Tours, Ruinart’s edition, *De gloria confessorum*, pp. 934 and 1402.

named 'Abdul Malik was sent from Africa with fresh reinforcements. He had orders from the Khalīfah to do all that he could to avenge the blood of the Muslims which had been so freely shed. The new governor marched immediately towards the Pyrenees, and on seeing the Muslim soldiers, once splendidly in form, now a prey to the most gloomy terror, he made a speech to them in the following words : "The happiest days for the true Muslim are those passed on the field of battle, the days consecrated to the Holy War ; they are really the ladders which lead one to the Gates of Paradise itself. Was not the Prophet called the child of the sword ? Did he not hope to seek rest under the shadow of the flags taken from the enemies of Islam ? Victory, defeat and death are all in the hands of God ; it is He who distributes them as He pleases. Perhaps he who was defeated yesterday will be a victor tomorrow." These brave words, however, did not produce the effect which the pious Musalmans expected.¹

We know that the Christians of the northern provinces of Spain all took up arms after the retreat of the Saracens. An Arab author even mentions an expedition which left France and crossed the Pyrenees after capturing Pamplona and Gerona.² Indeed the Christians of northern Spain and those of southern France not only followed the same faith, but considered themselves as having sprung

¹Conde, Vol. I, p. 112. [The Khalīfah was Hishām, 724—753. *Tr.*]

²Cf. the author of the *Cartas*, p. clxv, and *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XII, p. 270.

from the same stock and still remembered the time when their colonists left the banks of the Ebro and settled down in Gascony.¹

‘Abdul Malik directed his earliest efforts against Catalonia, Aragon and Navarre ; then he went right into the Languedoc, placed the towns occupied by the Muslims in a state of defence, and was not slow to renew the offensive. It was only natural that the incursions of the Muslims into France should loosen all the bonds of French society. This disorder was felt first of all in Septimania and then in Provence, the two parts of France which had been totally deprived of governmental machinery since the fall of the Visigothic Kingdom. Certain ambitious persons had, however, profited by these circumstances and carved out small principalities for themselves. Under the titles of Counts and Dukes they had made themselves masters of the chief towns of the land, each having his own partisans and his own interests to serve. Before order could be re-established, it was necessary that they should acknowledge the superiority either of Charles Martel or of the Duke of Aquitaine, but they feared both equally. It was for this reason that they appealed to the Muslims of Narbonne and made an alliance with them. Among these chiefs, we are told, was Mauronte, whose authority extended over the whole of Provence and to whom our chroniclers give the title of the Duke of Marseilles.

¹See the article by M. Walckenær on the ‘*Basques*’ in the *Encyclopédie des gens du monde*, Vol. III, p. 117.

All this time Charles Martel was busy trying to establish his authority over Burgundy and in the Lyonnais, the two provinces of France which had only recently been brought within the Kingdom of Austrasia, and where the recent invasion of the Saracens had caused the greatest possible disorders. He entrusted the most important posts in the country to those who were "*leudes*" or loyal to him, and made all the powerful persons do homage to him. After this he marched against the Frisians who had taken up arms. It is significant that the position in which Charles found himself did not allow him to turn all his efforts against the Saracens. It was by violence that he had reached the important post of Mayor of the Royal Palace, so that he had to defend himself against both external and internal enemies simultaneously. He was therefore obliged to sacrifice everything in order to be absolutely certain of the loyalty of his soldiers. As no other means to secure this were available, he had allowed his soldiers to rob the churches and monasteries, thus alienating the clergy who were then very powerful in France. We must also remember that there existed a line of demarcation between the inhabitants of Southern France, who were Goths or Romans by descent, and the inhabitants of the North, who were either Frankish or Burgundian; this is the reason why, as a general rule, Charles met with such a small amount of sympathy from the very people who owed their deliverance to him.

In 734 Yūsuf, the Muslim Governor of Narbonne, in unison with Mauronte, crossed the

Rhône with a large army and, without striking a blow, took possession of Arles, where the convents of the Holy Apostles and of the Virgin were ransacked and the Tomb of St. Césaire destroyed.¹ After this he advanced to the very heart of Provence and captured the town of Fretta which is now known as St. Rémi. Thence he went to Avignon. In vain did the soldiers of that town try to dispute the passage of the Durance with him for the Musalmans overcame all obstacles.² Avignon did not in those days stretch beyond the rock where later on the palace of the Popes was erected, and it is this place which seems to be identical with the "Rock of Aniyūn" of the Arabs.³ Thus a part of Provence came under the occupation of the

¹*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, pp. 537, 600 and 620.

²The Chronicle of the abbey of Moissac says: "Yusseph Rhodanum fluvium transiit; Arelate civitate pace ingreditur, thesaurosque civitate invadit, et per quatuor annos totam Arelatensem provinciam depopulat." Vide Collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. II, p. 655. In the same way we read the following in Frédégaire's continuation, *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 436: "Denuo rebellante gente validissima Ismahilitarum, irrumpenteque Rhodanum fluvium, insidantibus infidelibus hominibus sub dolo et fraude morento, Avenionem urbem munitissimam ac montuosam Saraceni ingrediuntur, illisque rebellantibus ea regione vastata." What we know about the siege of Fretta is from a Provençal romance written long after the actual occurrence. Vide Rapon, *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. I, p. 85. But we know that a Muslim army must have been stationed at St. Rémi because Arab coins have been discovered in the neighbourhood. Vide *La description de quelques médailles inédites de Massilia*, by M. de Lagoy, Aix, 1834, in 4to., p. 23. Re. the battle of the Durance, we may refer to the Latin inscription of a chapel near Bompas: "Sepultura nobilium avenionensium qui occubuerunt in bello contra Saracenos." Vide Bouche, *Histoire la Provence*, Aix, 1664, 2 vols.

³[ابن زيون - حصن ابنيون - صخرة اينيون] 'Inayatallāh: *Jughrāfiya-i-Andalus*, Hyderabad, 1927, p. 89. *Tr.*]

Muslims, an occupation which lasted nearly four years. Eudes died in 735 and Charles Martel hurried to Aquitaine, where two of his sons did homage to him.

‘UQBAH B. ḤAJJĀJ AS-SALŪLĪ. 734—740

Meanwhile ‘Abdul Malik, satisfied at the turn events had taken in France, returned to the Pyrenees with the object of subduing the inhabitants who had been resisting the Muslims for some time. He was, however, taken unawares during the rainy season in the midst of the mountains and sustained a complete defeat. When the Khalifah heard this, he gave the government of Spain to ‘Uqbah while ‘Abdul Malik retained only the command over the provinces situated in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees.

We learn from our Arab authorities that ‘Uqbah was full of Islamic zeal and enthusiasm. He was given the choice among several provinces, and he preferred Spain on account of the opportunity which the governorship of that province would give him of distinguishing himself against the Christians. It was his habit that, whenever he captured a Christian, he never failed to try and persuade him to become a Muslim. Under his government the Muslims of the Languedoc fortified all the positions which were capable of defence, right up to the banks of the Rhône.¹ These positions, which the Arabs called Ribāṭ, were garrisoned with troops, and were such as to

¹Maqqarī, Vol. II, p. 58 ; Ibn al-Qutīyah.

facilitate for the Muslims observation of all that was happening in the Christian lands.

It was no doubt at this period that the Saracens renewed their attacks on the Dauphiné. St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux and Donzère¹ were covered with ruins while Valence and Vienne were occupied. The Muslims then attacked the provinces of Charles Martel himself and thus avenged the defeat which that captain had made them suffer a few years before. Their detachments again occupied Lyons and invaded Burgundy.

Charles Martel could not let such incursions go unpunished. In 737, when he thought he was safe on the northern and eastern frontier, he despatched an army to Lyons under his brother Childebrand, who had been his right-hand man in all his campaigns. At the same time he wrote to Luitprand, king of the Lombards of Italy, for help.² It seems that the Muslims of Provence, assisted by Mauronte, had established themselves right up to the mountains of the Dauphiné and of Piedmont, and thus it would have been impossible for the Christians to drive the Saracens away, without a large army from the banks of the Po. Childebrand chased them back to the south and, coming down the Valley of the Rhône, besieged Avignon. That city was very strong in those days, so that Childebrand was obliged to fall back on his machines of war. Soon, however, Charles himself advanced

¹*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, pp. 703 and 737.

²Paul Diacre, in Muratori's collection, Vol. I, p. 508. [Luitprand, Lombard king of Italy, 712—743. *Tr.*]

with a fresh army, while Luitprand attacked the Muslims on the Italian front.¹ The town of Avignon was at last captured by assault and the unfortunate Musalmans found there were all put to death.² Then Charles immediately advanced to the Rhône as far as the city of Narbonne, which was, according to the French chroniclers, under the command of Athima. The passes of the Pyrenees were intercepted by the armed population of the Christians and all land communication between Spain and Septimania was entirely cut off. When 'Uqbah heard of these disasters and the danger which threatened Narbonne, he sent an army towards the north commanded by 'Amr.³ This force landed a short distance south of Narbonne, and Charles at once marched to meet it with a part of his forces. The battle was fought on the banks of the river Berre in the Corbière valley, a few leagues from Narbonne, on a Sunday. The Muslim army was posted on a raised platform, and their Amīr or Commander, thinking that the number of the Muslims was large enough to fight against the Christian foe, entirely neglected to take any precautions whatever.

¹Luitprand's epitaph at Pavia was as follows :

.....Deinceps tremveri feroces

Usque Saraceni, quod dispulit impiger, ipso,

Cum premerent Gallos, Carolo proscente juvari.

(Sigonius, *de regno Italiæ*, Yr. 743.)

²In this connection Frédégair's continuator says : " Carolus urbem aggreditur, muros circumdat in modum Hierico cum strepitu hostium et sonitu tubarum cum machinis et restium funibus super muros et aedium maenia irruunt, urbem succendunt, hostes capiunt, interficiunt trucidant." *Historiens de France*, Vol. II, p. 456.

³Isidore de Bèja, p. lx.

Charles attacked him with great vehemence without giving him time to gauge the situation. The rout of the Saracens was complete, and their chief himself was among the slain. In vain did the survivors try to regain the boats which were lying across the neighbouring lakes, for the Franks, getting into their barges, began to shower arrows upon them, so that only a small fraction could finally reach the city.¹

In spite of Charles's brilliant success, however, the Muslim garrison of Narbonne continued to hold out, and Charles, both on account of his impatient temperament and because he was called in another direction to subjugate the Frisians and the Saxons in the north, had to give up the idea of taking a town which was so difficult of access. Before he left for the north, however, he took care to disarm the Christians of the neighbourhood whom he suspected of Muslim sympathies, and to raze to the ground the fortifications of Béziers, Agde and other important towns so as to make it impossible for the Saracens to establish themselves firmly in any place other than Narbonne. We read with a heavy heart that Nîmes saw its magnificent gates pulled down and a part of its ancient amphitheatre delivered to the flames because it was said to serve as a rampart to the Muslims owing to its large dimensions and huge strength. The same treatment was meted out to Maguelone, a town which presented an imposing

¹Frédégaire's continuator, Vol. II of the *Historiens de France*, p. 456 ; Moissac's Chronicle, *ibid*, p. 656 ; and Maqqarī, Vol. II, p. 58.

aspect even when Montpellier did not exist and the large and commodious harbour of which offered a safe asylum to the Arab ships from Spain and Africa. So great was Charles's distrust that he took away with him not only a host of Saracens as prisoners of war but a large number of hostages chosen from the Christians of the surrounding country as well.¹

It is certain that the authority of Charles was not looked upon with favour in the South France. The people who had gloried in having saved some of the Roman institutions and a part of Roman civilization, looked upon the coarse Germanic strangers from the north as barbarians. Moreover, the clergy, both in the south and in the north of France, never pardoned Charles for the arbitrary manner in which he had despoiled the churches of their wealth. When the Saracens first invaded the country, they devastated a large number of churches and convents, and took away the property belonging to these establishments. Charles did not hand this property back to the clergy after defeating the Saracens, but distributed the lands and the buildings belonging to the religious orders among his soldiers instead. To the great scandal of the pious Christians the majority of episcopal sees remained vacant because there were not enough means to maintain them. We read of Wilicarius, Bishop of Vienne who, after the expul-

¹Moissac's Chronicle and Frédégaire's continuator. History is silent about Carcassonne. Probably this town, which was then built on a rock where the cathedral now stands, and surrounded by the Aude, soon fell into the hands of the Christians.

sion of the Saracens, tried to regain possession of his see. But on making enquiries he found that all the property belonging to the establishment was in the possession of the laity, so he made his way to Valais where he was nominated abbot of the monastery of St. Maurice.¹ Such abuses could be remedied only step by step, and were not finally eradicated till the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne.

Had the times been different, the clergy, whose very existence was threatened, could very well have appealed to the enthusiasm of the flock ; but, judging from the little evidence that has come down to us of that distant period, the clergy were generally content to represent the evils under which their religion was groaning as a just punishment meted out by God for the evil deeds of man and exhorted the sinners to return to the path of virtue.² There were, nevertheless, clergymen who were temperamentally too warlike to sit at home, and who, allying themselves with Charles, accompanied him in his wars against the enemies of their faith. We read of Hainmarus, Bishop of Auxerre, whose large domain extended over the greater part of Burgundy, and who, disdainingly to tie himself down to the service of the altar, left the government of the diocese to someone else and went towards the Pyrenees in order to test the

¹Charvet, *Histoire de la sainte eglise de Vienne*, p. 147.

²*Letter of St. Boniface*, archbishop of Mainz to Ethelbald, King of Mercia (England), dated 745. Ferrarius's collection, 1605, in 4to. See also the passage of Charlmagne's Capitularies, Baluze edition, Vol. I, pp. 413, 526, 1056 and 1227.

strength of his arms.¹

After the departure of Charles, Mauronte reappeared in Provence and renewed his friendship with the Muslims. When Charles got to know this he made up his mind to rid the country of this turbulent chieftain once for all and thus to free it from the germs of discontent which had been devastating it. It was with this motive before him that he reappeared with his brother Childebrand. Mauronte was driven from all the positions which he had occupied, and the sea coast, where the turbulent faction had an opportunity of hiding, was also visited by him. Charles occupied Marseilles so that the Saracens of Narbonne could not venture to go any further than the banks of the Rhone.²

We have no exact information with regard to the manner in which the Muslims penetrated right up to the very heart of Provence. It is probable that it was mainly because of their friendship with Mauronte, who hoped eventually to become master of the country, that they did not fall a prey to their passions as much as they did in other parts of France.³

A new source of misfortune now crops up which did not let the southern part of the country, *i.e.*, Provence and the Languedoc, remain in peace

¹*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XII, p. 270.

²Fredegair's Continuation, *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. II, p. 457.

³The details given in the life of St. Porcaire about the ravages committed by the Saracens in the interior of Provence must have belonged to the occupation of the country after 889. See the *Bollandiste* collection, Aug. 12, p. 737. Besides this there are a number of other accounts which we hope to discuss later.

for many centuries. We mean the raids which the Muslims of Spain and Africa now begin to perpetrate on those lands by sea.

Even at the time of their greatest warlike enthusiasm, the Arabs seldom thought of taking advantage of the routes which the sea offered them. From times immemorial the nomads of Arabia had an intense dislike of the ocean. Accustomed to the independent life of the desert they believed it to be an insult to their liberty to be shut up in a frail vessel. Thus all the efforts, which were made to maintain considerable fleets on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf in ancient times, were the work of the Phoenicians and other foreign nations. This dislike of the sea was shared by the Prophet himself and is still the view of many a Muslim of today.¹ The Muslim temperament, moulded in general according to fatalistic ideas, cannot view without a sense of pity the continual trouble which others undergo either in the hope of increasing their fortune or else of satisfying their curiosity. If one of them decides to embark on a boat, he may be regarded as having lost his good sense, and his evidence in a court of law can no longer be admitted !²

¹[This is absolutely incorrect. For the attitude of Islam towards naval enterprises, see translator's note at the end of this chapter. *Tr.*]

²See our *Extraits d'auteurs Arabes relatifs aux guerres des Croisades*, Paris, 1829, pp. 370 and 476.

[I have not been able to lay hands on this work, but I say from my personal testimony that the author is grossly mistaken to think that a Muslim who embarks on a boat is regarded as having lost his good sense and his evidence is inadmissible in a court of law. *Tr.*]

Nevertheless, when the Arabs had conquered Syria, Egypt and Africa, and the standard of Islam flew in the ports of Tyre, Sidon, Alexandria and Carthage, it was only natural that the renegades and adventurers of all countries should flock round the Arab commanders and give them the idea of taking to maritime expeditions. Since the year 648 A.C., *i.e.*, barely fifteen years after the death of the Prophet, the Governor of Syria, Mu'āwiyah, sent a naval expedition to the island of Cyprus. In 661 a similar expedition was sent to Sicily, and from that moment the maritime provinces of the Greek Empire, not excepting the city of Constantinople itself, had to suffer as much from naval raids as from attacks by the land route.

In the beginning the Muslim ships were generally manned by the renegades and adventurers of all religions ; but soon the Muslims too began to take part in those expeditions which were a source of inexhaustible wealth and riches ; and as most of the Muslims honestly believed that they were doing an action pleasing to God, for them the merit of the enterprise was measured by the danger attending it. We have already observed that the Prophet of Islam did not consider naval enterprise as the means for extending the religion he had come to teach ; nevertheless it was necessary to maintain the enthusiasm of the Musalmans by a reference to some of the traditions of the Prophet himself.¹ It was related how the Prophet one day

¹[The author seems to think that these Traditions have been concocted ; but most of these are entirely according to the Qur'ānic precept and have been put to thorough critical test by writers on the authenticity of the Traditions. *Tr.*]

went to sleep in the house of one of his companions and dreamt that some of the followers of Islam were sailing on the sea for the propagation of the True Religion; he was overjoyed at seeing them surrounded by prisoners of war, and when he got up he celebrated the glory of such an enterprise. Such were the traditions which were spread by pious Muslims for popularizing the sea-voyages among their co-religionists. Several years afterwards, when Mu'āwīyah made an expedition against the island of Cyprus, Umm-i-Ḥarām, the widow of the Companion of the Prophet in whose house he was said to have dreamed the above dream, desired to have a share in such a sacred enterprise. She died in the midst of the expedition, and the Musalmans raised a tomb in her honour, where, in later years, people used to assemble whenever there was a shortage of water.¹

It is also mentioned that in 716, when the grand fleet, which went to besiege Constantinople, left Alexandria, one of the sons of the Khalīfah 'Umar, who at that time happened to be present in the port, asked the admiral what he thought of the sins with which the souls of the greater number of the sailors were infected. The admiral thereupon replied that like everyone else they would receive proper punishment for their sins. "Not these men," replied the son of 'Umar. "I swear by Him Who holds my life in His hands, that these men have left

¹[See the article "*Tomb of the Righteous Woman Umm-Ḥarām in Cyprus*," J.R.A.S., 1897, pp. 81—101. She was the daughter of Maḥan and was married to 'Ubādah b. Ṣāmit, one of the Companions of the Prophet. See Balādhārī, *Futūḥ*, 1319 H., pp. 159, 160. Tr.]

all their sins on the sea-shore."

According to the accounts given by some learned Muslims, the Prophet said that a naval war made in the service of Islam brings ten times greater merit than the war on land, and that those who were to come after him, not having the good fortune of fighting under his command, could enjoy the same advantages if they carried on their expedition in seafaring ships. He is also supposed to have said that the Muslim who dies while fighting on land is like one bitten by an ant, whereas to him who dies fighting a naval battle, death comes as does fresh water mixed with honey to him who is thirsty. It is this idea which seems to underlie the saying of 'Ā'ishah, the famous wife of the Prophet, that had she been a man she would have devoted her life to a maritime war against the infidels.¹

The first maritime expeditions on which the Muslims embarked were despatched from the ports of Syria and Egypt, and were chiefly directed against the provinces of the Greek Empire, then almost continuously at war with the Khalīfahs of Islam. When the town of Carthage fell into the hands of Arabs, it did not seem as if the conquerors themselves gauged the advantages which the possession of that city offered them. So little did they see that they were virtually the masters of

¹For details, see the Arabic treatise meant to excite the sentiments of Muslims against non-Muslims entitled "*The direct route towards the rendezvous of Peace and the True Guide to the Abode of Prosperity*," Cairo, 1242 H. (1826 C.); also our article in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Vol. VIII. p. 337.

the Mediterranean, that their chief wanted to build a city which might serve as a place of refuge for them in time of need, and he chose for this purpose the site of Qairuwan, a place at some distance from the sea-coast.¹ Mūsa b. Nuṣair, who was governor of Africa at the time of the invasion of Spain, had only four ships at his disposal, and it was necessary that they should be employed continuously for the purpose of transporting the Muslim army from one side of the Straits of Gibraltar to the other.² But Mūsa at once understood the necessity of having under him a fleet which would enable him to maintain these communications undisturbed between the peninsula and the African shore; consequently he hastened to have vessels constructed in all parts of the vast territory of which he was governor. From Barcelona to Cadiz the Spanish coast offered a number of excellent ports and the same was the case with the African shore from the Straits of Gibraltar as far as Tripoli-in-Barbary. In 736, the Governor of Africa built a formidable arsenal at Tunis,³ and henceforward the ancient fame of Carthage began to decline in favour of that of the new city.

¹*Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Vol. II, p. 157.

²Ibn-ul-Qūṭīyah, [also, Maqqarī, Vol. I. p. 106 *Tr.*].

³[This is corroborated by Ibn-ul-'Adhārī who says that 'Ubaidallah ibn Hijāh founded an arsenal at Tunis. But Ibn-Khaldūn says that it was the Khalīfah 'Abdul Malik who ordered Hissān ibn-i-Nu'mān to build an arsenal there. Hissān was the governor of the African Province from 697 to 701. Quṭaibah says that Mūsa b. Nuṣair had some boats equipped at Tunis (Vol. II, p. 56), and it is possible that 'Ubaidallah had the arsenal finally completed. *Tr.*]

There was an official in Spain whose special duty it was to look after the management of the fleet. The official was called *Amīr-ul-Mā'* or "Chief of the Water," and it is from this title that the European word 'Amiral' or 'Admiral' has been borrowed.¹

Our Arab authorities speak of an expedition sent by *Mūsa* to the island of Sardinia as early as 712,² while the Christian authors mention an expedition to the island of Corsica even two years earlier.³ These two islands as well as Sicily had for a long time been under the Emperors of Constantinople, but as the authority of these potentates declined, they found themselves abandoned to their own resources. Moreover, the Islamic fleet, for whom these islands were very convenient as ports of call, could have met there with only a feeble resistance. The invaders confined themselves at first to robbing the churches and the houses of the rich ; when these resources of loot were exhausted, they went farther into the interior, massacring all the men who opposed them and making the women and children their slaves.

The first descent which the Saracens made on

¹Nuwairī, as above.

²[For instance, Ibn Athīr, *Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, under 92 H. Ibn Athīr has collected the history of Sardinia in one place ; Cairo edition, 1302 H., Vol. IV, p. 232. Ibn 'Abdul Ḥakam, 858, pp. 7 and 8. Ibn Qūṭaibah, 1331 H., Vol. II, p. 57, says that Sardinia was conquered in 89 H. = 707 A.C. Tr.]

³A Corsican author of the fifteenth century has suggested that the Muslims entered Corsica as early as the time of the Prophet, and that they were masters of the island till Charlemagne's reign. This opinion has, however, been discredited now.

the French coast was in the island of Lérins in the vicinity of the Antibes. We are, however, uncertain as to the exact date when this event took place, and the authors vary it from 728 to 739. The following is the description of the manner in which this event took place.¹

The island of Lérins was in those days celebrated throughout Christendom on account of its monastery which had always supplied the church not only learned men but also with a number of bishops and martyrs. At the time of which we are speaking, it was under the charge of St. Porcaire, and contained five hundred monks among whom were found those who had come from France, from Italy and from other countries of Europe, not counting a number of children who had been sent there for the purpose of education and general culture. On the approach of the Islamic fleet, St. Porcaire despatched the children and the youngest of the monks to Italy. The saint assembled the other inmates of the monastery who could not be sent away for lack of time or of means, and exhorted them to wait for the Saracens, resigning themselves to any fate which the invaders might mete out to them. All consented to remain, except one who went and hid himself in a grotto. The Arabs arrived and began to overrun the island in the hope of finding there a great deal of wealth and riches. As, however, they did not find anything

¹[See the episode connected with the sack of the monastery at Monastier, above, and the Translator's footnote on it. The similarity, even in detail, of such episodes leads one to the obvious conclusion that they were all manufactured to discredit the Muslims. *Tr.*]

except old clothes and other valueless objects, they turned their fury on the monks whom they served with blows, and threw them on the ground. At the same time they broke the crosses, upset the altars and destroyed the buildings of the monastery. Not being able to drag away any of the old monks, they wished at least to take the young ones with them, and with the object of forcing them to change their religion they committed all manner of violence on them. But their threats as well as their promises were utterly valueless, for young and old alike remained faithful to their religion. The invaders then put them all to death except four of the youngest among them whom they took on their boats with them. Happily the vessel in which these monks were being taken ran aground at the neighbouring port of Aguay,¹ and the four monks took advantage of this occasion, saving themselves in the woods whence they returned to the island of Lérins and re-established the monastery.²

Charles Martel died in 741, and was succeeded in the Mayoralty of the Palace by his son Pepin the Short, who devoted the first years of his power to making his authority felt not only in Aquitaine which was in the possession of Eude's successors, but also in northern France and in the provinces situated beyond the Rhine. No doubt the Muslims could have taken advantage of such an excellent occasion to renew their attempts against the

¹*Portus Agathonis.*

²The anniversary of St. Porcaire and his companions is celebrated on August 12. See also the Life of St. Honorat, in Provençal verse, composed by the troubadour Raimond Feraud. Also see the *Bollandistes*.

southern provinces of France ; but there appeared serious dissensions among them which made it impossible for them to undertake anything important for a long time.

We have already observed that, in principle, the army of the conquerors was composed of the most heterogeneous elements. Each detachment had its own language, its beliefs and its interests. It was not long before disorders broke out between the Arabs and the Berbers, the latter of whom claimed to have contributed just as much as the others to the former conquests and complained that they were not treated as well as the others.

As a matter of fact the Arabs were themselves disunited. We know that nomadic peoples have ever given the greatest importance to questions appertaining to their race and their tribes, and it is owing to this fact that in their national chronicles the name of each individual is mentioned together with that of his father and the tribe to which he belongs. The Arabs maintain that they belong to two distinct races, the one descended from Yaqtān or Qaḥṭān, grandson of Shem son of Noah, and the other from Ishmael son of Abraham. The Qaḥṭānīs received the title of '*Āribah* or Arabs *par excellence*, and in ancient times occupied Eastern and South-Western Arabia specially Yemen or Arabia Felix, and were therefore surnamed Yemenīs. The Ishmaelites, descending from Ishmael through his offsprings Qais and Mudīr, were designated by the title Qaisīs and Mudirīs. They settled down in the Hījāz near Mecca and Medina and remembered with pride the honour which was theirs of including the Prophet of

Islam in their ranks. For a long time a strong feeling of jealousy had existed between the two sections, and this spirit of faction, after having drenched Arabia, Egypt and Syria with blood, penetrated into the soil of Spain and France.¹

All of a sudden the conquerors began to fight among themselves, Arabs and Berbers, Qaisīs and Yemenīs, each faction resolving to do that which would serve his faction best. The signal of this vast conflagration was given in Africa. In the first year of the conquest, the Arab generals had relaxed their severity in order to win over the people. They had not only left the Berbers free to profess their religion but had actually reduced the tax which they were legally obliged to pay ; some of them were wholly exempted from paying any tax whatever and only those who were in a fit condition were required to carry arms. At the time of which we are speaking, that is to say in 737, the Governor of Africa thought that it was high time to do away with all these distinctions, and announced that he would henceforward follow in all its rigour the lessons taught by the Prophet. He wanted to compel the Berbers to discharge the dues imposed by the Islamic² law, consisting of 2½ per cent. on movable goods such as cattle and silverware which formed their only wealth.³ The Berbers who were

¹[The accounts of inter-tribal feuds seem to be greatly exaggerated. See Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, Calcutta, 1927, p. 180. *Tr.*]

²Nawaiī, as above.

³Nomads have always refused to pay taxes, and it required all the tact and persuasion of the Prophet of Islam to levy it on the Beduins. Cf. Gagnier : *Vie de Mahomet*, Vol. III, p. 119 ; *Les annales d'Aboulfeda*, Vol.

accustomed to all the freedom of the desert looked upon this imposition as highly tyrannical, and took up arms for the purpose of preserving their freedom. They were seen rushing up from the heart of the desert situated in the south of the Atlas mountains riding their horses which, though not very tall, were still very light and agile and showing the greatest courage in the defence of their so-called freedom.

As the insurrection was not quelled easily, 'Uqbah, the Governor of Spain, crossed the Straits in order to bring the Berbers under control. This withdrawal of the Governor helped Charles Martel not a little in achieving his victories in Southern France. On 'Uqbah's death, his predecessor 'Abdul Malik again became Governor of Spain.¹

'ABDUL MALIK B. QUTN AL-FIHRĪ
[SECOND TIME. 740—741]

Meanwhile the rebellion continued, and a part of the Arab army, which was beaten at all points, was obliged to seek refuge in Spain. On hearing this news, those Arabs and Berbers who had settled down in the Peninsula and in France, and who had received large plots of land as a reward for their

I, p. 114; Burckhardt. *Voyage en Arabie*, Fr. translation, Vol. II, pp. 26 and 296.

¹[Ibn al-'Adhārī and Maqqarī seem to differ about the end of the Governor 'Uqbah. There is a tradition which says that he was slain in France in the battle called by Ibn al-'Adhārī *Balāṭ ash-Shuhadā'*, while another mentions his murder at the hands of the Spanish rebels. It is also said that 'Uqbah on his death had given over the charge of the province to 'Abdul Malik. See Ibn al-'Adhārī, Dozy ed. London 1849, Vol. II, p. 29; *Akḥbār al-Majmū'ah*, ed. Lafuente y Alcantara, Madrid, 1867, p. 29; Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 110; Vol. II, p. 56. *Tr.*]

exploits, feared lest the arrival of these newcomers should necessitate a redistribution of their property. With this object in view they at once took to arms and made up their minds to face the Muslim army with all their might. We should like to mention one fact in order to illustrate the amount of rancour which existed in the minds of the conquering people. It so happened that the Governor of Spain, 'Abdul Malik, unfortunately fell into the hands of the opposite party and was thereupon hanged on the bridge of Cordova, while his head was cut off and publicly exposed between the carcasses of a dead hog and a dead dog. Now the Commandant of Narbonne, 'Abdur Raḥmān, had allied himself to the cause of 'Abdul Malik, so that when he heard of 'Abdul Malik's death, he immediately gathered all the troops he could command, and started immediately for Andalusia. The battle between the rival forces took place somewhere near Cordova. Just when the battle was raging most furiously, 'Abdur Raḥmān, who was a very good shot, aimed an arrow at the officer commanding the enemy and killed him outright, and after winning the battle he retraced his steps back towards Narbonne.¹

BALJ B. BASHAR AL-QUSHAIRĪ. 741—742

It was extremely difficult for the Khalīfahs of Damascus to pacify provinces which were situated at so great a distance from the centre of the Empire.

¹Ibn-ul-Qūṭīyah. [Also Ibn al-'Aḏḥārī, Vol. II, p. 32. He mentions the tradition that the army of Syria was victorious and says that this seems to be the most trustworthy account. Also see Vol. I, pp. 38 ff., Vol. II, pp. 29-32. *Tr.*]

As a matter of fact rival political factions were fighting their own battles in the East and when forces were after all requisitioned from the Western Provinces, they ended by finishing off the Khilāfat itself.¹

It was inevitable that these terrible conflicts should have a certain amount of influence on the fortunes of Septimania. The Muslims of Narbonne had taken possession of Nîmes and the neighbouring towns, but these places were stripped of all their troops, so that the commanders of the towns had to make a number of concessions to the Christian population. The Goths, who then formed a large part of the population of the country, thus regained a part of their lost credit, and we see that while the towns of the Languedoc such as Béziers, Nîmes and Maguelone, were under the domination of the Muslims, they enjoyed their own peculiar institutions and liberties.²

YŪSUF B. 'ABDUR RAḤMĀN AL-FIHRĪ. 746—756

An analogous change had taken place in the condition of the Christians of the Asturias, Navarre and other northern provinces of Spain, whose courageous leaders had united together and achieved some measure of independence. In 747 Yūsuf, the new Governor of Spain, sent his son 'Abdur Raḥmān towards the Pyrenees in order to crush the insurrection, but the rebels resisted them with a

¹Abul Fida, *Annals*, in Arabic and Latin, Copenhagen, 1789, Vol. I, pp. 468 ff.

²Vide *Histoire du Languedoc* by Dom Vaissette, and *Histoire de Nîmes* by Ménard. We will discuss these points later.

considerable amount of success.

Now that no direct communication was possible between Narbonne and Cordova, the capital of Muslim Spain, it seemed to be only a question of time that the Christians of Septimania should throw off the yoke of the Muslims. Septimania was coveted both by Eude's son Vaiffre, Duke of Aquitaine¹ and by Pepin himself, and in 751 Vaiffre actually made an incursion to Narbonne. But such was the hold of Pepin in the mind of the people that only he could be relied upon to guarantee any amount of peace and prosperity to the people of the country. Pepin had in the meantime been crowned king by the Pope of Rome and had thus received an honour and dignity which was not even dreamt of by Charles Martel in spite of his magnificent victories.

In 752 Pepin went to the Languedoc with a large army, when a local Gothic lord, Ansemundus by name, gave him possession of the towns of Nîmes, Agde, Maguelone and Béziers.² After that Pepin could turn all his attention to Narbonne, but, as it was strong enough to withstand a long siege, he left some troops under the command of Ansemundus to blockade the town. But fate seemed to be against the progress of the French forces, for, on the one hand, Ansemundus was surprised by the Muslims in an ambush and killed, and, on the other, both southern France and northern Spain were the scene of a terrible famine,

¹[745—768. *Tr.*]

²Moissac's Chronicle. Collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. V, p. 68. [Pepin, King of the France, 752—768. *Tr.*]

so that further operations had to be suspended owing to utter lack of articles of food.¹

Just when these things were taking place, the Omayyads were dethroned at Damascus and their place was taken by the House of 'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet. The new Khalifahs of Islam moved their capital from Damascus to Baghdād on the Tigris, and it is they who made the name of Islam famous all over the world. As regards the vanquished dynasty, it was proscribed, and all traces of it were entirely effaced. One of the scions of this House, who did so much to spread Islam during the heyday of its glory, somehow or other escaped the gallows and fled to Africa where he spent a number of years among the Berbers. When he got the news of the turmoil in Spain, he immediately put himself in communication with certain Amīrs of the Province, later (in 755) going to Malaga, where he was received with open arms by them as a liberator by the descendants of the early Muslim conquerors. The name of this prince was 'Abdur Raḥmān.²

It was fated that 'Abdur Raḥmān and his successors should give the greatest lustre to the name and fame of Islam in the West, and it is to their time that those splendid monuments of the

¹Cf. Moissac's Chronicle in Dom Bouquet's collection, and Ibn al-Qutīyah.

²'Abdur Raḥmān's father was an Umayyad prince named Mu'awīyah, hence he was called Ibn Mu'āwīyah or son of Mu'āwīyah according to the custom of the Arabs. This has been corrupted by the old French chroniclers into *Benemaugius*. [The House of 'Abbās came in power in 750 A.C. Tr.]

'Moorish' civilization can be traced which still bewilder the traveller. Up till then the conquerors were too busy pondering over their religious beliefs or else quarrelling among themselves to accomplish anything very great, and even 'Abdur Raḥmān and his successors had to combat the spirit of faction caused by racial differences as well as the diversity of interests which were found in the peninsula. It must also be borne in mind that all Muslim lands, including the provinces of Africa up to the Atlantic Ocean had submitted to the new dynasty of Baghdād without offering any resistance, so that 'Abdur Raḥmān's authority was limited only to the peninsula of Spain. It was really for this reason that he as well as his immediate successors contented themselves with the simple title of Amīr rather than to adopt the more splendid title of Khalīfāh.¹ The capital of these Princes was Cordova, which soon became a great centre of light and learning.

¹Assemani has been deceived by modern Arab writers and has put forward the opposite theory. See the collection called *Italicæ historiæ scriptores*, Rome, 1752, Vol. III, pp. 135 ff. [The title of Khalīfāh was adopted by 'Abdur Raḥmān III in 929. *Tr.*]

NOTE ON NAVAL ENTERPRISE AND ISLAM

[*By the Translator*]

OUR author seems to be entirely mistaken in the view he has taken of the attitude of the Prophet and the early Muslims toward naval enterprises, and his assertions that the Arabs never took advantage of the sea-routes, that the Prophet himself disliked the sea, and so on, are without any foundation on fact. In the first place we must remember that southern and eastern Arabia was in constant commercial touch with India, Persia and Africa for a very long time, and that the ancient capital of the H̥ijāz, which has also been the spiritual capital of Arabia from times immemorial—i.e., Mecca,—is but fifty miles from its sea-port, Jeddah. Then, if we were to study the Qur'ān, we would perceive that a number of the great prophets mentioned in the Holy Book of the Musalmans are directly connected somehow or other with the sea, such as Noah, Jonah, Khidr and Moses, and it is they who furnish models of good and noble living to the Muslims the world over. Further there is a mass of literature dating from the Days of Ignorance, i.e., the period before the advent of the Prophet, about seafaring ships. Students of the early period of Islamic History are aware that it was not long after the Prophet began to preach his doctrine that some of his most devoted followers had to leave their hearths and homes for Abyssinia owing to the persecutions of the idolators of Mecca, among them being a number of women and children as well as men, and the party consisted, among others, of the daughter of the Prophet, Ruqayyah herself. We are also aware that quite a number of the companions of the Prophet, e.g., Ṭalḥa, Zubair b. Sa'id b. Zaid, Tamīm Dārī and others, were engaged in maritime trade and commerce. This could not be otherwise, for the Qur'ān is full of the description of the sea, of boats, of sea-game and of the recommendation of sea-voyage. Thus:

"He has given you control over the sea (so that) you may extract fresh food and (articles of) ornaments which you wear, and seest thou the ships tearing through the waters in it (i.e., the sea) so that you may see the Grace of God therein and you may thank Him (for His Mercies)."

—Qur'ān, XVI, 14.

"He is the Lord God who has put the seas under your control so that ships may ply over them by His Command, that you may seek His Grace therein and that you may (have an opportunity to) thank Him."

—Qur'ān, XLV, 12.

"And verily We gave pre-eminence to the children of Adam and conveyed them over land and sea."

—Qur'ān, XVII, 69.

"Your Nourisher is He Who carries ships on the seas that you may seek His Grace, for He is Kind to you all."

—Qur'ān XVII, 65.

These are merely stray passages from the Qur'ān, which is full of the anecdotes of sea-voyages, and it strikes an average reader of the 'Book,' how many times the command "Travel through the Earth" is repeated and how much of it is devoted to maritime commerce and maritime enterprises.

So much for the text of the Qur'ān. When we return to the Traditions we find a number of the authoritative sayings of the Prophet in the same vein. Thus:

"Ibn 'Umar says that the Prophet said, 'A maritime campaign is ten times better than a land campaign.'"—Abū Dāwūd, Cairo, Vol. I, p. 247.

"Abū Dardā' says that the Prophet said: 'A maritime war is equal to ten such land campaigns, and one who becomes sea-sick is like one who has been wounded on the field of battle in the Path of the Lord.'"—Ibn-i-Mājah, Lucknow, Vol. I, p. 508.

"Abū Umāmah says that he heard the Prophet say, 'A martyr killed in a sea-battle is like two martyrs in a war waged on land, and he who is sea-sick is like one wounded

on the field of battle Moreover when the Angel of Death comes to do his duty to one who has martyred his life on land, the martyr is recompensed for all his sins, while, in the case of a martyr on the sea, not only are the sins recompensed but his debts are also forgiven'."—Ibid.

All these and many more traditions are found in the body of Traditions known as the 'Correct Six.'

Under these circumstances it is very curious that the learned author should hold the opinion that the Prophet or the religion of Islam had any prejudice whatever against sea-voyages. There is a tradition that the Prophet once remarked that as there was fire under the sea, no one should embark on a sea-voyage except for the purpose of a pilgrimage or Jihād ; but this tradition is unanimously declared to be unreliable, specially by such an authority on the authenticity of Traditions as Ibn-i-Mu'in ; and Bukhārī has also quoted words of the well-known authority, Maṭar-i-Rawwāq to the same effect. We also know that during the Khilāfat of the second Khalīfah of Islam, 'Umar', the first maritime expedition—i.e., that sent to Cyprus—included some famous Companions of the Prophet, such as Abū Zar, Abū Dardā', 'Ubādah ibn-i-Ṣāmit, and many women, among whom was Umm-i-Ḥarām who died in the island and was buried there. The manifest claim of Islam is that it is for the good of mankind, so that it is inconceivable that the whole expanse of the waters should have been exempted from its purview, and this is fully borne out by the Qur'ān as well as the Traditions. The whole history of the Muslim peoples is a direct proof of the falsehood of the author's opinion about the doctrine of Islam in this respect.

Chapter II

THE AMIRATE OF ANDALUS. 756—889

‘ABDUR RAḤMĀN I. 756—788

AS soon as ‘Abdur Raḥmān saw his authority firmly established, he at once turned his attention towards Narbonne which was then hard pressed by Pépin’s soldiers. He therefore sent a considerable body of troops towards the Pyrenees under the command of a general named Sulaimān in order to help the besieged. But before they could cross the Pyrenees they were surprised in the mountain gorges and cut to pieces.

Now the Christians of Narbonne, who formed a large majority of the population of the city and who were the greatest sufferers from the blockade, made up their minds to rid themselves of the burden which lay so heavily on their shoulders. We have no reliable details of what followed¹ and we only know that they secretly entered into negotiations with Pépin who promised that he would leave them entirely free to live under their own Gothic laws. After exacting this promise they

¹True that we have considerable details in our possession in the romance of Philomène published by M. Ciampi at Florence in 1823 with the title of *Gesta Caroli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*. The author says that he wrote the work under orders from Charlemagne himself; but the work, originally in Provençal dialect, could have been written at the earliest in the XII century, because it attributed to Charlemagne, events which are bound to have happened in the time of his father Pépin and his grandfather Charles Martel. It is for this reason that we do not attach any faith to it.

took the first advantage offered to them, and when the Muslims were off their guard they massacred them in cold blood and then opened the gates of the town to the Christian army.¹ This was in 759. Pépin left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of France from which the Muslims had, for the time, been expelled.²

We have already seen how the Muslims had fully intended to spread the religion of Islam in France and to make that country the starting-point for their conquest of the European continent. Their ultimate object was, in fact, to make the part of the world which had menaced all the known

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 67 and 335.

²Ibid., Vol. V, p. 6. According to certain writers there were a number of Muslims who remained in the Dauphiné, the country of Nice and on the slopes of the Alps while peace reigned in these parts during the sway of Pépin and Charlemagne. Mention is also made in a number of works about the capture of Grenoble and the surrounding country by the Muslims. On the other hand a historian of the abbey of Lerin (Vincent Barrel, Part I, p. 132) thinks that they settled down at Nice and were expelled from there by Charlemagne with the help of his pretended nephew Siagrius. See *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. III, p. 1275. It is this fact which has made certain authors believe that the Arabs were not expelled from the Dauphiné at all up to the tenth century, a period when some other Muslim peoples who held sway on the Provençal coast advanced right up to Piedmont and Switzerland, as we will see later. This theory, put forward by certain authors of the chivalric romances who were keen on attributing some of the best known facts of the history of France to Charlemagne's reign, has been made use of by some of the old families of France whose fame rests partly on the fact that their ancestors died fighting against the Muslims, and who were proud to read back their ancestry to such remote days. Vide *Histoire généalogique des Pairs de France*, by M. de Courcelle (articles d'Agoult, Clermont-Tonnerre, etc.). But this opinion is not verified by contemporary writers, and it is impossible to believe that if it were based on actual facts, princes such as Charlemagne or his successors would not have driven from the very heart of their kingdom non-Christians whose very homes were actually invaded by them.

countries in the days of the hegemony of Rome a mere province of their world-wide Empire. We must not forget that most of the commanders of the conquering armies originally came from Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia, that the centre of their religion and power was the East and that their thoughts were always turned towards Asia. No difficulty, however, seemed to deter persons who had taken part in these conquests—conquests which have no equal in the history of Europe—and the larger and more populous a country the more did they see an opportunity of achieving terrestrial glory and Divine pleasure.

The background changes with the period which we are now going to discuss. The new ruler of Spain had seen his family overthrown in Syria and his own kith and kin meet a violent death, and once in his new dominions he saw that Africa and other parts of the Empire were full of his enemies, who were the very people who had so largely contributed to the success of Muslim arms in the past. Moreover, the condition of the peninsula was such that its resources could not be relied upon for an extensive scheme of conquest. Internecine wars had been the order of the day and the spirit of faction had been rampant, while the Christians of the northern provinces of Spain had taken advantage of this state of affairs and assumed a very menacing attitude. Lastly, the memory of the failure at the gates of Narbonne had had a lasting effect on the spirit of the Muslims.

On the other hand, France, which had been the

immediate object of these invasions, was becoming more and more powerful every day. All these vast lands had come under the sway of one chief, whether a Pépin or a Charlemagne, and, as it was possible to call the warriors of Germany, Belgium and Italy to their aid in time of need, they were practically safe from the danger of a foreign invasion. Moreover, the tables seem to have been turned, and, instead of the Muslims of Spain attacking the Christians of France, the Christians of France began to harass the Muslims of Spain. Both Pépin and Charlemagne put themselves in touch with the Christians of Catalonia, Aragon and Navarre, so that the latter began to look upon the former as their patrons and superiors ; at the same time they backed the efforts of the provincial Amīrs and governors to shake off the yoke of the sovereigns of Cordova. We must also remember that Charlemagne and his successors crossed the Pyrenees and annexed the provinces situated on the banks of the Ebro to their dominions. Later on, when the people of the northern provinces of Spain were reconquering the lands of their forefathers, they were helped spontaneously by the warriors of southern France who boasted of being of the same race as themselves.

We must here mention a remarkable fact, one which would show the extent to which the human feelings are likely to go. Both the Amīr of Cordova and the Khalīfah of Baghdād were more occupied in injuring each other than in adding fresh provinces to their Empires. While the Amīr of

Cordova allied himself with the Emperor of Constantinople, who was nearly always at war with the Musalmans of Syria, Persia and Egypt, the Khalīfahs of the East were the allies of the Princes of France. Right from the beginning of the commerce of the country, ships used to go from Marseilles, Fréjus and other ports of the south to the coast of Syria and Egypt for spices, silk cloth, perfumes, etc.¹ To these commercial reasons were added motives of piety which led a very large number of persons to brave all dangers in order to visit places sanctified by the mysteries of the Christian faith. The result was that, just when the Muslims were attacking French soil, the pilgrims of the West were allowed to move about quite freely at Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Damascus, and were admitted to the very court of the Khalīfah of Islam, either because the Prince had a very hazy idea of the countries of these pilgrims or else did not care to pry into the objects which brought them thither.²

The 'Abbāsid Khalīfahs adopted a policy of the greatest friendship towards France ; and if we see that later on their representatives on the coast of Africa led the most sanguinary incursions into France, it was simply because these Governors took advantage of the expanse of desert and the

¹ Vide Deguigne's article in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 66. Also vide M. Pardessus, *Lois maritimes*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 62.

² *Vie de St. Guillebaud*, in the Bollandiste collection, under date July 7.

immense distance which intervened between them and the centre of the Empire to make themselves independent at the earliest opportunity offered to them.

From the conquest of Narbonne up to Pépin's death in 768 there was peace between the Muslims and the Franks. Pépin considered the Pyrenees the natural frontier of his dominions, while on the other hand 'Abdur Raḥmān was busy dealing with the Amīrs who had refused to accept his authority. We must, however, remember that Pépin left no stone unturned to sow the seed of discord among the Muslims of Spain. A year after the fall of Narbonne, *i.e.*, in 760, Sulaimān, the Muslim Governor of Barcelona and Gironne, entered into relations with Pépin.¹ If we were to believe the French chroniclers, Sulaimān ranged himself on the side of the son of Charles Martel, but it seems to be far more natural that he simply wanted the assistance of the King of France in order to make himself independent of the control of Cordova. We shall soon see that the policy of the Amīrs of the northern provinces of Spain becomes one of seeking the help of the ruler of France whenever they were hard pressed by the Amīr of Cordova, and of flying to the arms of the Amīr of Cordova whenever the French became too exacting.

We must remember that the geographical conditions of the Pyrenees country favoured these Amīrs as well as the Christians of the northern

¹ *Annales de Metz*, in Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 335.

provinces of Spain. We know that Catalonia, Aragon and Navarre are all intersected with mountains from end to end, and that it is quite possible for a small army to fight against comparatively large forces in their defiles. As the Arabs never fully established themselves in those parts of the peninsula, their writers had only a hazy idea of the country they were dealing with. They called the provinces of Alava and Old Castile the land of Allabah and the Castles,¹—provinces which were naturally shut off from the outside world by very strong outposts. On the other hand they called Navarre the Land of the Bashcans, a word which sometimes signifies the parts of Gascony situated on the other side of the Pyrenees, which were related with Navarre in the matter both of language and race.

The Arabs called the Pyrenees proper the *Mountains of the Ports*,² from the Latin *Portus* (Spanish *Puerto*), meaning *Passage*, because it was through the Pyrenees that it was possible to pass from the peninsula to the rest of the European continent. The Arabs distinguished four “ports” or passages, which, according to them, were large enough for a horseman to go through. These four passages are the following: (1) the route from Barcelona to Narbonne through the modern town of Perpignan, (2) the route of Puycerda through

¹ البية والقلاع; Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 218. This part of the country is called *Alava et Castella Vetula* in the old Latin maps. See *l'Art de vérifier les dates*, Vol. II, p. 349. [Ināyatallah, *op. cit.*, p. 116. *Tr.*]

² جبل البرطات [Ināyatallah, p. 25. *Tr.*].

Cerdagne; (3) the route from Pamplona to St. Jean-Pied-de-Port; (4) the route from Toulouse to Bayonne.¹ The Pyrenees were far less accessible during the Middle Ages than they are at present, yet the account left to us by the Arabs is fairly complete, and there are quite a number of places described by them which it is difficult to decipher.

At the time with which we are dealing, the governors of various provinces and towns were invested with the title of Wazīr, but the ancient chroniclers of France call them Kings, simply because quite a number of them had become virtually independent. They were distinguished from the commanders of secondary towns who were called " al-qā'ids " or leaders.

While Pépin wanted to play off the different parties against each other, their discord was further increased by the Khalīfah of the East, Al-Mansūr, who had just founded the town of Baghdād, and desired that there should again be a complete political and religious unity within his Empire. He had sent a fleet from the coast of Africa, and a

¹Idrīsī from whom we have borrowed the above details, has mixed up some of these routes. For instance, he does not distinguish between the first and the third route which leads from Jaca right into Béarn. The passage of the Roncesvalles is really a part of the third route which goes through the Cize country and which Idrīsī calls the Port of Shāzer. In the Chronicle of Turpin, p. 60, and in Jacque de Guyse's *Histoire de Hainault*, Vol. IX, p. 24, this place is named Portus Ciserei, and in Roger de Hovedon, Portus Cizarae. This passage is now called St. Jean-Pied-de-Port. [Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib wa Ard as-Saudān wa'l-Miṣr wa'l-Andalus*, Text and French Translation by Dozy and de Goeja, Leiden, 1866. This is only a part of Idrīsī's work, *Nuzhatu'l-Mushtāq*. I regret I was not able to find the detail referred to here in the part of Idrīsī's work devoted to Spain. *Tr.*]

number of the Spanish Amīrs had already declared in his favour. Pépin, who had nothing to fear from Khalifah Mansūr but who, on the contrary, expected help from him in case of necessity, immediately entered into direct negotiations with him. In 765 his plenipotentiaries went to Baghdād and returned to Marseilles three years later in company with the Khalīfah's ambassadors. Pépin welcomed the oriental representatives with open arms and requested them to spend the winter at Metz, whence he took them to his castle at Sels on the Loire. They finally returned home *via* Marseilles, laden with presents.¹

Pépin's policy was literally followed by Charlemagne. As soon as he felt his position secure, he began to make friends with the influential Spaniards, Muslims as well as Christians. To the Muslims he said that he wanted to free them from the Cordovan yoke, and while before the Christians he posed as the natural protector of Christianity, as the defender of the Pope against the tyranny of Lombard Kings and as the sincere friend of the sound Christian doctrine so unhappily assailed by reformers and heretics.

After their conquest of Spain, the Arabs left the native Christians free to exercise the tenets of their own religious faith. At Cordova, Toledo and other large towns of the dependency there were Bishops who were really superintendents of their Christian flock ; but it seems that there were no

¹Frégédair's continuation, in the *Recueil des Historiens de France*, Vol. V, pp. 8, etc. [Mansūr, 'Abbāsīd Caliph, 754—775. *Tr.*]

high ecclesiastical dignitaries in the frontier provinces which frequently changed hands between Muslims and their enemies, and it was Charlemagne himself who provided this spiritual need of the population. As the metropolitan town of Tarragona had been destroyed, the Catalonian Christians were placed under the Archbishop of Narbonne, while the Archbishop of Auch took over the charge of the whole of Aragon.¹ Whenever a quarrel arose among the Christians of Spain, the Emperor himself offered to mediate and he invariably acted as the intermediary between them and the Holy See.

In the meantime a quarrel arose between two Saracen Amīrs of the Ebro country and the ruler of Cordova, resulting in the flight of the former towards the Pyrenees. They crossed the frontier, and, with a large entourage, proceeded to Paderborn in Westphalia where the Emperor was holding sessions of the Diet of the Empire.² One of these refugees, named Sulaimān, had been governor of Sarragossa³ and had actually captured the commander of the troops sent by the Cordovan government against him. He now not only paid

¹*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. VI, p. 15.

²We find that the French Kings were now becoming uneasy at the appearance of the Muslim Amīrs on great public occasions, and it was no doubt due to this factor that the Chivalric romances speak of Muslim knights coming from the ends of the earth in order to dispute the honour of skill and courage with Christian warriors.

³See Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 19, 140, 142, 203, 319, 328, as well as Ibn al-Qūṭīyah. The Arab authors are not unanimous about the actual name of the Amīr as some of them call him Sulaimān ibn Yaqtān al-'Arabī while others name him Mutraf ibn al-'Arabī.

homage to Charlemagne but, according to the French chroniclers, actually put himself under his authority and command.

Charlemagne, whose sole desire was to extend his authority, considered the moment favourable for making himself master of a part of the Spanish peninsula. In 778, therefore, he appealed to the warriors of France, Germany and Lombardy to help him to liberate their co-religionists of the Pyrenees area. He felt certain that once he set out for his sacred purpose, the people would flock under his banner. But it proved otherwise. The Muslim chiefs, whose solitary aim in approaching Charlemagne had been to make themselves independent of the central authority, could not countenance their further subjugation, and made up their mind to resist him. As for the Christians of the Pyrenees, they had sworn that they would recognize no foreign ruler, so they also went against him. When, therefore, he had crossed the Pyrenees, he was obliged to lay siege to Pamplona which was captured only after a most bloody struggle,¹ while the governors of Barcelona, Gerona and Huesca did no more than send hostages to the invading potentate.

¹Vide Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 14-20, 26, 142, 203, and 343. We know from Christian writers that Charlemagne entered Sarragossa at the head of his troops and that the Amīr was carried to France in chains. According to certain Arab authors, however, the town was not captured, but the local governor was killed a short time afterwards and his son fled to French territory. [Roland is the great semi-legendary hero of France round whose life a number of romances have been interwoven. *Tr.*]

Charlemagne was now informed that the Saxons, who had so far refused to become converts to Christianity, had again taken up arms. He thereupon turned back towards France, but, while he was crossing the Pyrenees, his rearguard was attacked by the native Christian hillmen, who were perhaps helped by the Muslims, in the valley of Roncesvalles, and a very large part of his illustrious warriors lay dead on the field of battle. It was perhaps in this struggle that Roland was killed.¹

The extent of the country which France henceforth occupied on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees changed from time to time. It was called the "Marches" or the land of the frontier, for, indeed, it was like an advanced post of France on the other side of the Pyrenees, and was a part of the newly formed kingdom of Aquitaine which Charlemagne had carved out for his younger son Louis, with Toulouse as the capital. The Arab writers call it the Land of the Franks and thus add one other source of confusion for the historian.²

It is not within the compass of this work to relate in detail the events which were the outcome of the ambitious schemes of Charlemagne. What we have to deal with here is not so much the incursions of Frenchmen into Spain, as the in-

¹The memory of the day is still kept, for on the anniversary of the battle the people play a piece called the *Pièce de Roncesvaux*. See *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. VIII, p. 720.

²The Arabs still call it the Land of Narbonne, either because up to the entry of the French into Barcelona all the French possessions were dependent on Narbonne, or because since the conquest of Septimania by the Muslims it had been under the jurisdiction of Narbonne.

cursions of the Muslims into France, and here we shall only deal with the results of these new ventures.

The moment Charlemagne's back was turned, most of the towns which had submitted to him shook off the yoke of his authority. The Muslims had felt the pang of this submission the most, and they were now free to take revenge on their Christian neighbours. Clad in bear-skins and armed with scythes and axes, the Christians had to take refuge on the mountain-tops in the river-valleys. There were, however, many who could not possibly live under such conditions, and who were forced to cross over and seek refuge on French soil. There were a number of tracts round Narbonne which had been devastated and laid bare in the successive campaigns of former wars, and which were now utterly uninhabited; these Charlemagne now distributed among those who sought asylum with him, on the sole condition that they should submit to military service in return. Judging from the names of these refugees which have come down to us, it seems that there were many a renegade Muslim among them.¹ Some of these exiles attained positions of eminence later on, and even now we find families which are proud to trace their origin to them.²

The Amīr of Cordova, 'Abdur Raḥmān, died in

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 776; Vol. VI, p. 486.

²Such are the Villeneuves of the Languedoc. Vide *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Villeneuve*, Paris, 1830, in 4to.

788. We read in the works of contemporary French writers that he was a cruel ruler who put to death a number of rebellious Arabs and African subjects ; they further add that the Jews and Christians of his kingdom were so hard pressed that some of them had actually to sell their children in order to maintain themselves.¹ We know that 'Abdur Raḥmān had to conquer the whole of his dominions and to defend himself against continuous attacks made on his authority, so that it is by no means surprising that he was not always able to save the lives and fortunes of his subjects ; but we also know him as a friend of literature and art, and as a man of gentle temperament, and it is really to his noble qualities that we must attribute the origin of all that was best in the civilization of the Moors. It is not known whether 'Abdur Raḥmān maintained direct relations with Charlemagne ; an Arab chronicler says that he asked Qārlah (meaning thereby Charlemagne) for the hand of his daughter in marriage² ; but in all probability our author is really referring to 'Abdur Raḥmān II, who carried on direct negotiations with Charles the Bald, and who lived in a period when such a request would not have raised the same amount of scruples as in the early times which we are discussing.

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 74.

²Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 43. [Charles the Bald, King of the Franks and Emperor, 875—897. *Tr.*]

HISHĀM I. 788—796

‘Abdur Raḥmān had appointed his third son Hishām his successor in preference to his elder sons. The result was that immediately after his accession the new ruler had to face opposition from all sides. He, first of all, made his authority felt in Cordova and the neighbouring provinces, after which he advanced to the banks of the Ebro in order to make the refractory leaders return to their posts.

When order had been established to a certain extent, Hishām thought that the best way to uproot the spirit of faction which had been the cause of such a large amount of mischief in Spain was to put forth a great scheme in which he might be able to unite all parties. He therefore thought that this was the proper time for avenging the confusion and misery caused by the policy of Pépin and Charlemagne, and was greatly incensed by the menacing intentions of the Christians of the Asturias and other northern provinces of the Peninsula. Deciding, therefore, upon a general attack on the Christians, he ordered that all the resources of the Empire should be fully utilized in the pursuit of such a glorious enterprise. Pious Muslims had, in fact, been complaining for a long time that Muslim forces were wantonly used against their own co-religionists, and many had actually declared that they were not obliged to pay taxes to those Princes who made war on their own brethren-in-faith, citing the example of the Khalīfahs of Baghdād who, they said, earned everlasting glory

for Islam by fighting against the Emperors of Constantinople.¹

As Hishām wanted to turn this into as solemn an enterprise as possible, he gave it a religious tinge by proclaiming a ‘Jihād’ or ‘Holy War’ against the enemies of Islam. He ordered that people should be invited to rise in defence of their faith on the occasion of Friday prayers when the Muslims would gather together to pay homage to their Creator. Those who could carry arms were ordered to the Pyrenees forthwith, while those who were unable to go on active service were asked to put their money and other resources at the disposal of the government in order to facilitate the undertaking. The discourse, which was then pronounced from the pulpits of Spain, was in rhymed verse and was interspersed with Qur’ānic passages in order to increase its effect. The following is a translation of a part of this oration :

“ Praise be to the Lord, who has increased the glory of Islam by the sword of the Champions of the Faith, and who has, in His sacred Book, promised His help in the achievement of victory in terms which admit of no ambiguity. He, in all His Goodness and Lovableness, says : ‘ O ye who believe ! If ye lend your help to God, He will help you and make your feet firm. Therefore dedicate to Him all your good actions, for He alone can help you in winning your battles.’ There is no God but the Almighty ; He is One

¹Conde, Vol. I, p. 199.

and has no equals : Muhammad is His Prophet and the dearest of His creatures. O men, God has blessed you with the leadership of the noblest of the Prophets and has well pleased you by the gift of faith. He has reserved for you in your after-life a happiness which eye has never seen, ear has never heard, heart has never felt. Make yourselves, then, worthy of such blessings, for these are the marks of His kindness towards you. Support the cause of your immortal religion and be ever faithful to the Straight Path. God has ordered you in His Book which He has sent you as a guide : ‘ O true believers, fight against the infidels who are near you and be hard on them.’ Then start at once for the holy war and make yourselves pleasing to the Lord of Creation. You will no doubt achieve victory and power, for God the most High has said : ‘ It is incumbent upon Us to help the Faithful.’ ”¹

This address caused a wave of enthusiasm through the rank and file of devout Muslims, and the more zealous among them immediately put on their arms in the service of their God and their religion. As there were no standing armies among the Muslims, this appeal to arms must have been responded to the more ; it was the custom that those who came forward did so for one campaign only, after which they were allowed to go back to

¹We have borrowed this passage from a treatise on laws, etc., in Arabic, published at Cairo, p. 78 ; see the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Vol. VIII, p. 338. We are not certain whether this was the identical oration delivered, but it must have been pretty nearly as we have quoted.

their respective homes. But the time had already passed when one word of command caused the whole body of believers to rise as one body ; for the descendants of the original conquerors of the Peninsula were in possession of large tracts of land, and most of them by no means wished to exchange their happy home-life for the dangers and privations of the battlefield. Moreover, we must remember that it was the volunteers from Africa, Arabia and Syria who formed the army of the conquerors, whereas all those lands were now more or less close to the Spanish Muslims.

We now come to 792. As a matter of fact the war did not attract even one hundred thousand persons to the banner of Islam. The Saracen army was divided into two groups ; one marching against the people of the Asturias achieved a partial success, the other led by the Wazīr ‘Abdul Malik advanced into Catalonia with the intention of marching right into France.

In 793, when the Muslims advanced into France, Charlemagne was fighting against the Avars on the banks of the Danube, while the flower of the troops of the south were in Italy with Charlemagne’s son, Louis, King of Aquitaine. On hearing that the Muslims had crossed the frontier, the inhabitants of the plains left their homes and either hid themselves in underground caves or else fled to the neighbouring hills. The Muslims went direct to Narbonne, a town which had once been so long in their possession but when they found that it was strongly defended, they set fire to the suburbs and

passed on to Carcassonne.¹

William, Count of Toulouse, who had been put in charge of Septimania by the order of King Louis, had appealed to the counts and lords of the land to help him against the intruders, and the Christians from all parts of the country came to join his banner. The two armies met on the banks of the river Orbieux at a place called Villedaigne between Carcassonne and Narbonne. The day was hotly contested ; but, in spite of the great bravery shown by the Count, the battle ended in the retirement of the decimated ranks of the French army. On the other hand, the Muslims, who had lost one of their leaders and who were well satisfied with their share of booty, refused to advance any further, and retired to Spain where they were acclaimed as victors and conquerors. In all the Spanish mosques the Muslims held thanksgiving Services to Almighty God for having granted them a victory the like of which they had not experienced for a very long time.²

The fifth part of the booty was reserved for the ruler according to Islamic law, and this came to 45,000 *mithqāls* of gold, the intrinsic value of which comes to about 700,000 Francs, but which must be multiplied at least by nine if we take into account the small amount of money which was then in circulation. Moreover, if we remember that the country which had to provide all this was naturally poor and had been overrun a number of

¹Moissac's chronicle, in Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 74.

²Collection of *Historiens de France*, Vol. V, pp. 74 and 360.

times, we shall have some idea of the real perspective. Hishām, whose desire was to give the expedition a religious colour, used this money in order to complete the Great Mosque of Cordova (now a Christian cathedral) the building of which had been commenced by his late father. What attracted the Muslims most was the fact that ‘Abdur Raḥmān had built this great edifice entirely out of the booty taken from his Christian enemies ; now that the building was complete, the Muslims refused to offer their prayers in the parts built by Hishām, for they said that they were not sure where the money now spent in it came from, and they were more certain to have their prayers heard by the Almighty if they offered them in parts built out of the booty taken from the Christians. Thereupon the ruler called the Qādī and other persons of eminence to swear that the money spent by him also came from the same source, and thereby satisfied the community.¹

We learn from some of our authorities that the foundations of this part of the Mosque were laid on earth actually brought from the field of the recent victory, and that it was carried thither from Galicia or Languedoc, a distance of nearly 200 leagues (*i.e.*, nearly 600 miles), either on carts or on the

¹*Extracts from the History of Spanish Arabs*, taken from Abul Fidā's *Geography*, published by Rinck, Leipzig, 1791. [I have consulted Abul Fidā, *Tārīkh al-Mukhtasar*, Cairo, 1325 H., Vol. II, pp. 12 and 13, where the building of the Mosque is noted, but have found no such matter as referred to by Reinaud. *Tr.*]

backs of the Christian prisoners.¹

According to certain Arab authorities, and Roderic Ximenes who has followed in their footsteps, the Muslims recaptured Narbonne during this expedition. But we must remember that while, on the one hand, these writings are very much confused, on the other, the name, "Land of the Franks" which they give both to the Cis-Pyrenean and the Trans-Pyrenean Christian provinces makes it difficult for us to make out precisely what the Musalman army was doing at a given time.² If a town of importance like Narbonne had been recaptured by the Muslims, the contemporary Christian writers would have mentioned it if only to inform us how the French regained its possession later. We must remember that about this time Charlemagne had already established order throughout his dominion, and the contemporary Christian chroniclers record important events faithfully from year to year.

But, while contemporary Christian writers do not mention the reconquest of Narbonne by the Muslims, later authors take it for granted that they became masters not only of that ancient city but also of the whole of southern France. We have

¹Cf. Roderic Ximenes, p. 18 and Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 158. [Here Maqqarī does not say that the earth was imported from France but only that *Hiḥām* built the Mosque out of the proceeds of the booty from Narbonne. See Vol. I, p. 158. *Tr.*]

²For instance, Idrīsī places the town of Gironne (*Jirundah*), really situated in Catalonia, in Gascony near Auch. Moreover, Nuwairī, who gives us a certain amount of detail about this expedition, does not tell us positively that Narbonne was captured by the Musalmans.

seen that the leader of the Christians during this war, who was also one of the most prominent personalities of France, was William, Count of Toulouse. He belonged to a distinguished family and had, by his piety as well as bravery, made himself worthy of the high position he occupied in the current politics of the country. A short time afterwards he took a prominent part in the conquest of Barcelona by the French ; but, weary of the false grandeur of this world, he retired to the monastery at Gellone near Lodeve which he had founded, and there died a true Christian. All these facts in the middle of a century, well known for its piety and religious feelings, made William's name a household word in southern France, and he was soon canonized as a saint by the Christian Church. An author who wrote his life towards the middle of the tenth century tells us that William's triumphs were sung in the churches as well as in various other gatherings of Frenchmen,¹ and a short time afterwards, when the French poets vied with each other in celebrating the exploits of Charlemagne and his Knights (some of them true, others mere fabrications), they did not forget the name of the Count of Toulouse. We have in our possession today a poem called "*Poeme de Guillaume du court-nez*," in which we are told that this hero wrested Nimes, Orange and Arles from the hands of the Saracens.² On the other

¹Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, Vol. II, p. 369.

²The accounts on which this poem is based are very old, and even in the eleventh century they were on everyone's lips. See Orderic

hand a Latin inscription existing in the Abbey at Mont-Major near Arles describes how Charlemagne himself had to come to Arles to help (the local levies) in expelling the Saracens from the country.

These accounts have not the least foundation in facts. We know that the authors of the romances of chivalry were never over-scrupulous with regard to actual historical facts ; apart from this, the Mont-Major inscription is entirely false. After reciting how Charlemagne came to Arles, it adds that he founded the abbey in order to immortalize his great victory over the infidels. Now, as a matter of fact, the abbey was only founded about 150 years after the date ascribed to it ; it is, therefore, certain that the forger, when forging the inscription which was based on the rumour then current in the locality, sought to make people believe that the monastery was older than it actually was, and give it an entirely false origin.¹

HAKAM I. 796—821

Hishām died in 796, and was succeeded by his son Hakam. Two uncles of the new sovereign, senior to him both in age and kinship, had tried their best to capture power and authority, and now they took up arms against him. Thus Hakam

Vital's chronicle, collection of the *Historiens de la Normandie*, by Duchesne, p. 598. Also see *Roman de la Violette*, published by M. Fracisque Michel, p. 72.

¹Millin, *Voyage dans les départements du midi de la France*, Vol. IV, p. 2.

was obliged to begin his reign by a pacification of the country.

The next year, when Charlemagne was at Aix-la-Chapelle, the Muslim Governor of Barcelona went to that city to implore his help, while 'Abdullah, one of the uncles of the Amīr, who had failed in his attempt to seize the throne, also repaired to Charlemagne's capital to seek his assistance.¹ About the same time Louis, King of Aquitaine, held a meeting of his Diet at Toulouse, to which came an ambassador from Alphonso, King of Galacia and the Asturias, with a request that all the Christian forces should join hands against the common enemy ; moreover the Saracen Amīr of the neighbourhood of Huesca, ' Bahaluc ' by name, sent his agent to Louis with the intimation that he wanted to live in peace and amity with the Christians.²

The moment thus seemed opportune for avenging the damage done to the Languedoc, by the Muslims, and to achieve the triumph of the French arms beyond the Pyrenees. Already Louis and his brother Charles had led expeditions to the banks of the Ebro, putting everything to fire and sword. Louis now recrossed the Pyrenees from the Aragon side and laid siege to Huesca, the governor of which had previously sent its keys to Charlemagne, but now refused to open its gates. At the same time one of the uncles of the Amīr of

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 22 and 50.

²Collection of the *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. VI, pp. 90 and 91.

Cordova made himself master of Toledo, while the other uncle, Sulaimān, established his authority in Valencia.

Under such critical circumstances, while Ḥakam sent a part of his army to Toledo, he himself went at the head of his cavalry to the Pyrenees. He began by subjugating Barcelona and other towns ; and, marching against the Christians of the Pyrenees, laid their land waste, massacred those fit to carry arms and made the women and children slaves.¹ Many of these slaves he appointed to certain offices in his place, but, as he was by nature jealous, he had them first castrated to the great indignation of pious Musalmans. Ḥakam was the first ruler of Spain who organized a regular bodyguard, and, in order that it should be thoroughly devoted to the throne, appointed to it either prisoners of war or slaves bought in the open market.

The exploits which he undertook earned for him the title of Al-Muzaffar or the Victorious by which epithet he was hailed by his soldiers.² When he arrived at Toledo he found that Sulaimān had been killed in battle while 'Abdullah had fled to Africa in order to wait for a favourable opportunity to return to the political arena. On his arrival, therefore, the city immediately opened its gates to him.

¹Vide Maqqarī, Vol. I, p 219. Here Conde, Vol. I, p. 248, who was misled by the accounts given by some Arab authors, supposes that the Muslims re-entered Narbonne.

²That is why the old French chroniclers have given him the barbarous name Abulafar.

While all this was taking place, Alphonso, King of Galicia, led an expedition to the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and on his return sent to Charlemagne, as trophies of his success, some Saracen prisoners riding on mules and wearing their own coats-of-arms. On the other side, the King of Aquitaine ravaged the neighbourhood of Huesca.¹

These incomplete successes did not bear any important fruit, while the immediate result of the incessant wars between the two parties was the utter devastation of the country which formed their bone of contention. As we know, it was the Saracen governors themselves who had invoked the help of the Christians, but now that the Christian army was in the land, they refused to receive them and even sent word to the Amīr of Cordova when force was brought to bear on them. The Muslims continued to hold such strong and important positions as Barcelona, Tortosa and Sarragossa, and were, therefore, sure to find places of refuge in the time of necessity, while these strongholds were so near the Christian frontiers that they could easily cross over to the enemy's country. Of all these places of vantage, the situation of Barcelona eclipsed all others. It was not only very strongly fortified, but was in close proximity to the French frontier so that it was comparatively easy to terrify the inhabitants of the surrounding lands either by land or by sea. The Muslim governor, whom other old French chroniclers call Zoton or Zadus,²

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 213.

²[Zaitūn. *Tr.*]

had paid homage to Charlemagne more than once, but now that the French soldiers were knocking at the very doors of the citadel, he utterly refused to have anything to do with them.

At last, in 800, while Charlemagne was at Rome, no doubt preparing to have the imperial crown placed on his own head, William, Count of Toulouse, advised Louis to stake all in order to gain possession of the important citadel of Barcelona, and Louis, announcing to his court and *grandees* his resolution to do all in his power to achieve this end, ordered them to march to the capital of Catalonia at the head of their armed retainers.

It remains for us to give an account of the details of the siege of Barcelona as given in the Latin poem of Ermoldus Nigellus who has already been quoted above. We wish to give a few quotations from that poem as it throws considerable light on the methods of Muslim and Christian warfare of those days.¹

“Barcelona had become,” says the poet, “a bulwark of the first order. It was thence that the Muslim warriors led their cavalry into the land of the Christians, and it was there that they collected their booty. It was in vain that the French soldiers pillaged the countryside round about the town, for it seemed impossible for them to force the Muslim commander to lay down his arms.

“On arrival at the walls of the town, the Aquitainian warriors began to undertake the work

¹*Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. VI, pp. 13 ff. ; also Vol. V, pp. 80 and 81.

allotted to them. One could see an Aquitainian prepare the ladders, another fix the stakes in the earth, here one takes up arms, there another collects stones. Arrows falling everywhere, walls shaking under the pressure from the battering rams, slings causing the utmost damage. The Muslim governor, in order to encourage his men, announces that forces have already left Cordova, and then, with his hand pointing towards the French horde, exclaims : ' Can you see yonder men of high stature who do not let us live in peace ? I tell you, they are brave, able to carry arms, thoroughly reckless of any danger which may come in their way and always full of agility ; they always have arms by their sides. It therefore behoves us to defend our ramparts with the utmost bravery.' "

The army of the Christians was divided into three parts. The first division was set aside specially for attacking the town ; the second, commanded by Count William, was ordered to cut it off from the auxiliary forces coming from Cordova ; while Louis was stationed on the Pyrenees at the head of the third division with orders to march in case of eventualities. The troops which advanced from the capital thus found the road blocked, and when they turned towards the Christians of the Asturias they were put to flight. William now turned to Barcelona and thus redoubled the strength of the army which was laying siege to the town. Zaton, not being able to defend the town any longer, left it and fell into the hands of the Christians. The French now assaulted the citadel

which was forced to open its gates to them.

Barcelona thus fell into the hands of the Christians in 801, after remaining in the hands of the Muslims for ninety years. Immediately on their entry into the city its new masters turned all the mosques into churches, and Louis sent to his father a part of the spoils of war, comprising cuirasses and helmets studded with precious stones, and beautiful horses superbly harnessed.

The Spanish possessions of France were henceforward divided into two parts : the Gothic or Septimanian March which coincided with the present Catalonia, with its capital at Barcelona ; and the Gascon March which included the parts of Navarre and Aragon in actual possession of France.

The same year (801) Charlemagne received an embassy from the Khalīfah of Baghdād, Hārūn ar-Rashīd. A short time before this Charles had sent an embassy to the court of Baghdād, consisting of a Jew named Isaac and a couple of Christians as plenipotentiaries. These were ordered to proceed to Baghdād *via* Jerusalem which had become a place of pilgrimage as well as a centre of commerce, and after taking note of the conditions prevalent at the Holy Places to beg the Khalīfah to grant them as many favours as would produce a certain amount of enthusiasm and make them more accessible to the pilgrims and traders who gathered at Jerusalem from the four corners of the world. Moreover they were to make a request for an elephant, an animal which had not been seen in France since the days

of Hannibal, and which was certain to strike the sense of curiosity of the people. The Khalifah welcomed these ambassadors with open arms. He granted to Charles the right of looking after the security of the Holy Places and at the same time sent him the only elephant which happened to be in his zoological garden. He also presented him with a magnificent tent of cotton and silk, an article which was rarely to be seen in France, perfumes and scents of every description, two huge brass chandeliers and a brass clock worked by hydraulic power, which marked the twelve hours of the day. All these presents were disembarked at Pisa and were ceremoniously carried to the Emperor's favourite resort, Aix-la-Chapelle. The ambassadors were asked to present Hārūn's compliments to Charles and to tell him that the Khalifah valued the Emperor's friendship more than that of any other potentate.¹

The Emperor then ordered his own envoys to visit the ruins of Carthage *en route* and beg the permission of the Muslim Viceroy, Ibrāhīm the Aghlabite, to remove the body of St. Cyprian and other Christian martyrs who had given their lives in the ancient capital of Africa. Ibrāhīm gladly acceded to this request and in addition sent his own ambassadors to Charlemagne with his compliments. We can only conjecture the vivid impression which all these events must have created on the mind of a people who were almost without any communi-

¹ Eginard, Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 56, 95. [Hārūn ar-Rashīd Abbasid Caliph, 786—809. *Tr.*]

cation with the outer world ; to them it seemed as if the three continents were paying homage to the extraordinary prestige of the person of their great Emperor.¹

War continued in Aragon, Catalonia and Navarre all this time, resulting in partial successes to both the contestants. Judging from the facts reported, it is certain that Charlemagne could not gain the same amount of success here as he could elsewhere, and this may have been due either to the fact that he could not pay due attention to this part of the frontier of his dominions, or else that his instructions were not followed *verbatim*. We may have some idea of Cordovan politics and of the curious situation in which he was placed by certain facts, which are reproduced below.

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 53, 95, etc. The Arab authors do not tell us anything about the diplomatic relations of Charlemagne with the Khalīfah Hārūn ar-Rashīd, but accounts of this are given in most of the French authorities. These accounts are at one with what Frédégaire's successor has said of the relations between Pèpin the Short and the Khalīfah Al-Manṣūr : they also agree with what is described later about the deputation sent by Hārūn's successor Al-Mā'mūn to Louis the Gentle. Add to this evidence that of Pope Leo III who, after Rashīd's death in 813, sent word to Constantinople that if the pirates of the African coasts do not respect the coasts of the French Empire it was because the grand name of the late Khalīfah had entirely lost its force. V. Pagi. *Critique des Annales de Baronius*, year 813, No. 20 ff. Nevertheless the learned M. Pouqueville, in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. X, p. 529, treats them as false and finds fault with Eginard's accounts taken as a whole. Probably he has mixed up Eginard with the monk of St. Gall who has also written on Charlemagne and whose account has been subjected to well-founded criticism a number of times. See Dom Bouquet's introduction to Vol. V of the collection of *Historiens de France*.

In 809, after the death of the French commander in Aragon, Count Auréole, the Muslim Amīr of Sarragossa, named 'Amr, took possession of all the French Aragonese towns, with the apparent intention of handing them back to Charlemagne. But when the French troops arrived on the spot, he refused to receive them, saying that he would fulfil his promise at the next session of the Diet. In the meantime he was recalled to Cordova leaving the Aragonese towns in the possession of the Muslims. Such is the account left to us by French chroniclers.¹ Now let us see what the Arab authorities have to say about this man 'Amr. He was born at Huesca of a Christian mother and a Muslim father, a matrimonial alliance which was quite common in Spain, especially in the North, which was mostly inhabited by Christians. Those born of such a wedlock were called " Muwallads " by the Arabs.² They did not follow any definite religious persuasion but generally allied themselves to the winning side.³ We are told that a few years earlier the town of Toledo was threatened with a general rising. The Amīr of Cordova, who was certain of 'Amr's fidelity, appointed him to quell the insurrection. After having taken orders from the Amīr as

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 58 ff.

²مولد—From this word are derived the Spanish *Mulato* and the French *Mulâtre*. [It is incorrect to say that the Muwallads did not follow any religion. They were the children of converts and were brought up as Muslims. The number of Spanish Muwallads increased by leaps and bounds especially after the reign of 'Abdur Raḥmān III, some of whom retained their own family names. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 795. *Tr.*]

³See Ibn al-Qutīyah.

to the plan of his campaign, 'Amr proceeded to the discontented people (the great mass of whom were Muwallads) as one of them, who was in entire sympathy with their ideas, and said that he was only awaiting the first opportunity of revolt. With their help he built a strong fortress in the highest part of the town, which was to be the best rampart of their liberty, and when it was ready he invited the ringleaders to meet him there. When these chiefs were well within his power, however, he had their heads cut off. Four hundred (according to some, five thousand) were thus murdered in cold blood, and if the inhabitants of the town had not come to know what was happening, many more would have been put to death. Here was the man who had taken possession of Count Auréole's towns with the declared intention of returning them to the Frenchmen !

We shall now consider the state of the Spanish and African navy of the Musalmans at this epoch and the disastrous effects which it produced for France.

We have already noticed that after the fall of the Omayyad Khalīfahs and the establishment of 'Abdur Raḥmān I, at Cordova, Spain was organized quite separately from the rest of the provinces of the Islamic Empire. The Khalīfahs of Baghdād made repeated attempts both by sea and land to establish their authority in the Iberian peninsula. The result of this was that the Amīrs of Cordova were forced to pay special attention to their naval armaments.

Even before the year 773, when 'Abdur Raḥmān I began to construct arsenals at the ports of Tarracona, Tortosa, Carthagenā, Seville, Almeria, etc., the Balearic islands, Sardinia and Corsica were exposed to the ravages of Muslim seamen. These islands, which were left to their own fate, at last put themselves under Charlemagne's protection.¹ Thenceforward the Spanish Muslims made frequent incursions into the islands, thus enriching themselves with much booty and at the same time engaging the forces of the potentate with whom they were in open conflict. They deemed nothing sacred, and those who were capable of carrying arms were either taken prisoners or put to death, while women and children were made slaves. Only the old and infirm were left free for they could not oppose them and were indeed of no account whatsoever to their cause.

In 806, on hearing that the Muslims were ravaging the island of Corsica, Pepin, to whom his father Charlemagne had given charge of the government of Italy, sent a navy to check their advance. They retreated without waiting for the French forces, but the campaign cost the Christians the life of Ademar, Count of Genoa, who had attacked them rather unwisely and had in consequence been defeated. The Saracens carried back with them sixty monks who were finally sold in Spain and some of whom were later bought back by the

¹In 799 the Christians of the Balearic islands rendered homage to the French potentate after gaining some success over the Saracens and capturing a number of flags ; Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 51.

Emperor.¹

In 808, the Spanish Muslims attacked Sardinia, but were put to flight by the inhabitants of the island. They now turned to Corsica where they were met by the constable Barchard, and lost thirteen ships in the affray. This success on the part of the Christian forces was regarded by the Christians as a condign punishment which God had inflicted for the numberless acts of cruelty said to have been committed by the Saracens.²

Nevertheless, the next year, while the African Muslims attacked the island of Sardinia, the Muslims of Spain arrived in Corsica on Easter Day and put everything to fire and sword.³ They came back to Corsica in 813, but as they were returning home they were entrapped by Ermengaire, who was Count of Ampourias, near the modern town of Perpignan. The Count captured eight of their ships which had on board nearly five hundred prisoners. The Muslims thereupon devastated the environs of Nice in Provence on the one side and the country round Centocelle (modern Civita-Vecchia), in the neighbourhood of Rome, on the other.⁴

The very fact that these raids and other inimical acts were actually doubled makes it clear that the

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 25 and 56.

²Collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. V, p. 56.

³Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 60, 61, and 355. If native writers are to be believed, the Muslims established themselves on the eastern coast of the island in the midst of the ancient ruins of Aleria, and the Frenchmen, in spite of the wish of the natives, had great difficulty in driving them out. *Histoire de la Corse*, Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 110 ff.

⁴Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 62.

strength of the Muslim fighters had been considerably increased, and if the Emperor did not take extraordinary measures it would mean the utter collapse of the Empire which he had built up with so much difficulty. We have seen that the (northern) coast of Africa was under the authority of the Abbasid Khalifahs of Baghdād who were on friendly terms with France. While Hārūn ar-Rashīd lived, the Aghlabite prince of Qairuwan respected the integrity of the coasts of the Empire out of regard for his wishes. When, however, Hārūn died in 809 and his dominions were rent asunder by the internecine wars between his two sons, the Aghlabite prince thought that he was free from all supervision, so that the ports of Tunis, Sūsa, etc., soon became the haunts of the marauding vessels of the Muslim seamen. When a Governor of Sicily complained to the Aghlabite envoy of the cruelties which were committed by the raiders almost every day, he was told that, ever since the death of the Commander of the Faithful, those who had been slaves had acquired freedom, while those who had been poor went to look for wealth where they could find it. The fact was that the trade which went on between France and Italy in the West and Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor in the East, was a fine bait for the African vessels.¹

The Empire had to deal not only with African warships but with Norman pirates as well. At this time Jutland and the Baltic coasts were full of

¹Pagi, *Critique des annales de Baronius*, year 813, No. 20 ff.

a poor and warlike people among whom the rude rites of heathenism still survived. As is the case with all barbarian nations, for these Normans the surest means of achieving glory was to shed blood and carry off booty. Everyone among them measured his strength with the gentler peoples of Southern Europe, and already their light ships were seen on the coasts of the French Empire.¹ In 810, Charlemagne, who judged the gravity of the situation in its true proportions, issued orders to the counts and provincial governors of his dominions to build military towers and fortresses at the mouths of rivers by which the Muslim raiders were likely to enter the Empire. In addition to this he expressed his wish to hold the navy in readiness in the chief seaports in order to pursue enemy squadrons whenever necessity arose. So long as this great potentate lived, such measures were enough to hold the enemies of France in check.²

The two combatant parties were soon tired of continuous hostilities which could only be to the disadvantage of both. We read of *pourparlers* for a temporary truce, and it is the first time that contemporary chroniclers speak of negotiations between the rulers of France and the Amīrs of Cordova.³ As a matter of fact according to the spirit of the Islamic precept, there could be no permanent peace between the Muslims and the

¹V. M. Depping, *Histoire des expéditions maritimes des Normands*, Paris, 1826, 2 Vols., in 8vo.; and M. Auguste Leprevost, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Normandie*, Caen, 1834, in 8vo.

²Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 96 ; Vol. VI, p. 93.

³*Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 60 and 82.

Christians who inhabited the border of the Islamic dominions, for we read in the Qur'ān the following : " Fight with the infidels till there are no disputes left over ; fight till none except the Divine Religion dominates the world."¹ It is the result of mere toleration that in countries conquered by the Muslims, the Christians and the followers of other religions are free to exercise their particular tenets. As a matter of fact the Muslims make use of a term meaning truce for every treaty that is concluded between a Muslim and a Christian power.²

The first truce was concluded in 810, but it was soon broken. Two years later a Muslim ambassador who was perhaps the Admiral Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam, a man who is described by the Arab authors as a spirited person, went to Aix-la-Chapelle³ to negotiate with the Emperor. He succeeded in arranging another truce which was intended to

¹Qur'ān, sūrah VIII, verses 39 and 40. [The author has suppressed a part of the verse, which is as follows : " Then if they desist, then God seeth all that they do. " Thus it is clear that a permanent peace between the Muslims and the Christians is by no means the impossibility that our author represents it to be. The idea conveyed in the next sentence of the author is also worth consideration for it was nearly always the Christians who broke the pact between the Muslims and themselves. So far as the principle of toleration is concerned the Muslims have ever acted on the Qur'ānic precept that "there should be no compulsion in religious belief," a precept which has made them tolerant towards those who differ from them in religion. *Tr.*]

²Vide d'Ohsson, *Tableaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, Vol. V, p. 66 ; Réland, *Dissertationes miscellaneae*, Vol. III, p. 50 ; and our own *Extraits des historiens arabes relatifs aux guerres des croisades*, Paris, 1829, pp. 164 and 542 (*Bibliothèque des Croisades* of M. Michaud, Vol. IV).

³Conde, Vol. I, p. 294, and collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. V, pp. 82 and 258.

last for three years. It was, however, no better observed than the first, as is evidenced in 813 by the invasion of Corsica by the Muslims, and the advance of 'Abdur Raḥmān, the son of the Amīr of Cordova, toward the Pyrenees when he put everything to fire and sword. The Muslim army, in fact, advanced as far as the frontiers of France, and it was perhaps during this campaign that the death occurred of St. Aventin who lived in the vicinity of Bagnères-de-Luchon which is situated in the modern department of Haute-Garonne.¹

Charlemagne died in 814, but this event did not result in any important change in the relations of France with the Musalmans. His son, Louis the Gentle, who had been working under him for a long time, succeeded him in the high office of Emperor, and he immediately tried to follow in his father's footsteps. Unfortunately for France, while there was any fighting on the banks of the Ebro, the Muslims were making continuous progress in the naval arena, and an event, which took place about this time in Spain, singularly contributed to widen the area of their raids.

We have already seen that Ḥakam had created a standing army for which it was necessary to spend more money and levy new taxes. He was moreover hated by his subjects on account of his cruelty and his sullen humour. The result of all this was that a revolt broke out in the neighbourhood of the

¹Comte de Castellane, *Notices de l'église de St. Abentin*, in the *Mémoires de la Société archéologique, du midi de la France*, Toulouse, Vol. I. [Louis the Gentle, King of the Franks. 814—840. Tr.]

capital. Ḥakam forthwith fell on the rebels with his newly formed forces and caused blood to flow in torrents for days and days. After suppressing the rebellion he caused a number of suburban houses to be destroyed and compelled those who had escaped the sword of his soldiers to go and settle elsewhere. A party of these exiles, numbering more than sixteen thousand, went to Egypt and forcibly entered the town of Alexandria. They, however, accepted a large sum of money offered to them by the governor of the town and, leaving the Egyptians alone, sailed to Crete which was then in the hands of the Greeks.¹ The inhabitants of the island resisted their entry in vain, and they finally settled there. Soon afterwards the Spanish Muslims made themselves masters of the Balearic islands and the African Muslims captured Sicily, so that the Mediterranean was turned into a vast theatre of naval warfare.

In 816, Muslim envoys came to the Emperor's Court at Compiègne on behalf of 'Abdur Raḥmān, to whom his father Ḥakam had relegated the charge of his dominions. From Compiègne they accompanied the Emperor to Aix-la-Chapelle where he was about to hold a meeting of the Diet.² The truce, however, was observed by neither party, for a Muslim fleet, which left Tarracona in 820, attacked Sardinia, while some Christian vessels

¹Cf. Conde, Vol. I, p. 253 ; M. E. Quatremère, *Mémoires historiques sur l'Égypte*, Vol. II, p. 197 ; and Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, Book LXVIII, s. 43.

²Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, pp. 98 ff.

which were sent against it, were defeated, eight sunk, many burnt and the rest put to flight.¹

'ABDUR RAḤMĀN II. 820—52

The same year, 816, Ḥakam died and was succeeded by his son 'Abdur Raḥmān II. By his cruel deeds Ḥakam had earned the name of Abdul 'Aṣī,² or the Father of the Wicked, from his subjects, and it is this epithet which the ancient French chroniclers have corrupted into the barbaric sounding word *Aboulaz*.³

On Ḥakam's death, his uncle 'Abdullāh, the same who had attempted to seize the throne with Charlemagne's help, hurried from Africa where he had been living in retirement, in order to make another attempt to seize the Cordovan government. The French took advantage of such a favourable opportunity offered to them, invaded such parts of Aragon and Catalonia as did not recognize their authority and there destroyed everything that came before them. But the bonds, which had kept the various parts of the Empire together and which the strong hand of Charlemagne had prepared with so much difficulty, had already begun to loosen. Discontent appeared in all parts of the Empire and the schemes of ambitious persons began to multiply. Thus in 820, Béra, Governor of Barcelona, who had been ordered to carry on war against the Muslims, was accused of felonious conduct, probably of

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, p. 180. and Conde, Vol. I, p. 255.

²ابوالعاصي

³Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 80 and 81.

siding with the enemy. As there was little evidence forthcoming at the trial, recourse was had to the old Gothic custom, adopted by the Spanish Muslims as well, and both the accuser and the accused were ordered to fight a duel. Béra was defeated and was forthwith declared guilty.¹ A short time afterwards the Christians of Navarre, who evidently had some complaint against their French rulers, made an alliance with the Muslims and handed over the town of Pamplona to them. Thereupon two counts, Asnar and Eble by name, were sent by the Emperor to quell the rebellion. They were attacked during their passage through the Pyrenees by the native Christians, who spared Asnar (a Gascon), but handed over the Frenchman Eble to the Amīr of Cordova.²

Louis was burning to avenge the insult offered to his authority. So, when the town of Merida in Estremadura, the inhabitants of which were ill-disposed towards the Cordovan authority, took up arms in 826 on the pretext that they had been badly treated by the Governor,³ Louis lost no time in putting himself in communication with the inhabitants and sent the following letter to them :

“ In the name of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, Louis by the Grace of God, Emperor, Augustus ; To the primates and people of Merida ; Salutations in our Lord. We have

¹ Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, pp. 48, etc.

² Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 106 and 185.

³ Nuwairī.

been informed of your great distress and all that you have suffered at the cruel hands of King 'Abdur Raḥmān, who is oppressing you and robbing you of your wealth. He is really following in the footsteps of his father Aboulaz, who was imposing burdens on you which were not his due, and who thereupon turned his friends into enemies, loyal subjects into rebels. He really wished to deprive you of your liberty and to levy all kinds of taxes and to humiliate you in every way. Fortunately you have bravely resisted the injustice, barbarism and greed of your kings. All this has reached us from different quarters. We have consequently decided to write this letter in order to comfort you and ask you to remain staunch in the purpose which you have put before you for the defence of your liberties. As this barbarian king is our enemy as well as yours, we propose that we should show a united front against him. God willing, we intend to send an army to the other side of the Pyrenees next summer for your support. If 'Abdur Raḥmān or his troops try to march against you, our army will be able to make a powerful diversion. We declare that if you decide to throw off his yoke and give yourselves up to us, we will grant you again your ancient privileges without the least delay and will not ask any tribute from you. We shall further allow you to live under your own laws and we shall treat you as our friends and associates in the defence of our Empire. We pray

God that He may keep you in the best of health.'"¹

Louis held a great Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle which was attended by his son Pepin who had become King of Aquitaine, together with the Counts of various provinces adjacent to Spain. The Emperor here announced his intention to make the utmost efforts to punish the insult offered to his arms. But even while the Diet was still in session, a Gothic Lord named Aïzon, who was perhaps allied with the Muslims and sent by them to Aix-la-Chapelle in order to report to them the correct state of affairs there, left for the Pyrenees, put himself at the head of the malcontents of Aragon and Catalonia and captured the town of Ausone, which he made his centre for ravaging the country occupied by the French.²

The French army which was sent southward in the spring of 827 came to grief. Aïzon, who had already sent word to Cordova for help, himself proceeded thither in order to press on the departure of the troops. Thereupon 'Abdur Raḥmān sent some of his best troops, among them a part of his own bodyguard, under his relative 'Ubaidallāh. As the French army advanced very slowly, Aïzon and his allies had ample time to overrun the territories

¹This letter, published by Lecoq, has been reproduced by Dom Bouquet in his collection, Vol. VI, p. 379. But as both these illustrious writers were unacquainted with the relationship which had existed between the Emperor and the inhabitants of Merida, they have changed the word *Emeritanos* to *Caesaraugustanos*.

²Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, pp. 107, 149 and 187.

round Barcelona and Garonne and to advance right up to the Cerdagne and the Val-Spir on the French side of the Pyrenees, where they committed the most horrible ravages.¹

All this time the natives of Merida were making the greatest possible attempts to keep up their rebellion. At the end of the third year, however, when no help was forthcoming, they were forced to open their gates to the enemy.

It was about this time that the Normans left the northern countries which had become too small for their increased population, and began to make annual descents on the German, French, English and Spanish coasts. Nor did the Spanish and African freebooters leave the coast of southern France and Italy free from their ravages. In order to avenge the continuous onslaughts on the island of Corsica, Boniface, Governor of the island, sent an expedition to the coast of northern Africa and overran the district between Carthage and Utica with fire and sword.²

The Spanish and African ports, whence issued these freebooting ships, were generally situated on the Mediterranean coasts and it was round the Mediterranean basin that their raids generally took place. We read that a Muslim ship, of such dimensions that it resembled a huge wall from a distance, raided the island of Oye in Brittany near the mouths of the Loire³; but, as the episode is not

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, pp. 108 and 188.

²Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 109.

³Ibid., p. 308.

even mentioned in the local histories of this part of France,¹ it doubtless left few traces behind.

While the situation became more and more alarming every day, Louis, to whom history has given the title of 'Gentle,' was unable to raise himself above the grievous circumstances in which his sheer weakness had placed him. He was at first foolish enough to divide his vast empire among his three sons in his life-time, and then he was even more foolish to redivide it later and reserve the fourth part for his youngest son. Thereupon the three elders protested against this injustice done to them and took up arms. In the general conflagration that followed, Louis was sometimes victor, sometimes vanquished, but in any case he utterly lost all the respect due to him on the part of his subjects.

Anarchy and other similar evils, which always follow in the wake of such events, became the order of the day, so that the pious among the Christians thought that the general decadence was no doubt only the result of the Divine Wrath caused by the corruption which existed in all ranks of society. In 828, a letter addressed to the Bishops of the Empire, says : "Famine, disease and various other evils have become rooted in the nations of our Empire. Who does not see that God is angry at our irreligious acts ?"² The Emperor thereupon commanded a general fast to be kept and ordered the Bishops to assemble in council in four of the chief centres of

¹Neither in D. Morice's history nor in that of M. Daru.

²Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, p. 344.

the Empire (one of which was Toulouse), in order to discuss the means whereby this deplorable state of affairs might be brought to an end. The same kind of disorders were prevalent in Spain, where the Amīr of Cordova had to face some insurrection or other almost every day.

We must remember that the commercial intercourse between the French Empire and the provinces of Egypt and Syria was never broken off, and the political relations which had existed between Charlemagne and Hārūn ar-Rashīd were re-established when the East was again in a peaceful state. Thus we are told that in 831 three ambassadors, two Muslim and one Christian, sent by the Khalīfah Mā'mūn, son of Hārūn, arrived in France bringing with them a number of presents for the Emperor, such as rich perfumes and cloth!¹

War continued on the other side of the Pyrenees. In 838 'Ubaidallāh, a relative of the Amīr of Cordova, raided the provinces occupied by the French; while the French, on their part, attacked Castille and destroyed everything which came in their way.

It was about this time that a fleet left Tarragona and, after being largely reinforced by ships from Majorca and Iviza, made a descent on the country round Marseilles, took possession of the suburbs of the town and imprisoned all the persons, lay as well

¹*Vita Loudovici pii*, and St. Bertin's *Annals*, in the collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. VI, pp. 112 and 193. The Khalīfah is simply called *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. [Mā'mūn, Abbasid Caliph, 813–833. Tr.]

as cleric, who could carry arms.¹ It was perhaps on this occasion that the episode took place which is attributed to St. Eusabia and her forty nuns. It is said that, as they did not wish to expose themselves to the cruelty of the invaders, they deformed themselves by cutting off their noses; they were thereafter known in the country as *denazzadas* or *the noseless*.²

Louis the Gentle died in 840, and this was immediately followed by an internecine war among his sons. Europe was then experiencing one of those severe chastisements, which, as Bossuet puts it, make their effect felt over whole nations, and when the Almighty smites the good and the innocent along with the vicious and the guilty. The Muslims took advantage of the general confusion to penetrate Provence by way of the estuary of the Rhône, and lay waste the environs of Arles.³ At the same time the Governor of Tudela in Navarre, named Mūsa, entered Cerdagne and overran it.⁴ On their side the Normans and their light boats advanced right into central France by way of the Scheldt, the Seine, the Loire and the Garonne and began to turn the fair land of France into a huge mass of ruins. The history of this

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, p. 199.

²An inscription about St. Eusabia still exists at Marseilles, but it bears no date. See Millin, *Voyage dans les départements du midi de la France*, Vol. III, p. 179. Mabillon (*Annales Benedictini*, Vol. II, p. 90) says that St. Eusabia's martyrdom took place in 832.

³Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII, p. 61.

⁴Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 161. [Here it is mentioned that the Muslim army progressed "as far as the land of Britain." *Tr.*]

period is an account of ambitious intrigue, detestable treason and calamities of every description, and one can follow it only with a very great amount of difficulty. Charles the Bald, son of Louis, had received practically the whole of France as his share of the Empire; but Civil War, which was the order of the day, caused provinces to change hands practically every year. As if in order to destroy all kinds of commercial and other relations with the outside world, the Languedoc and Provence were divided between the Emperor Lothair, King Charles the Bald and Pepin the Younger, who was the son of Pepin, once Duke of Aquitaine. Moreover, to make matters worse still, a lord named Folcrade rose against Lothair and proclaimed himself Count of Arles and Provence.¹

As a result of all this turmoil, social ties were loosened to such an extent that princes and leaders of various parties lost practically all their following, and the descendants and relations of Charles Martel, Pepin the Short and Charlemagne had to appeal to the Muslims and enter into alliance with them about their private quarrels.

Nor was Italy in a happier condition. Sicily was in Muslim hands, while the Muslims were invited even to the mainland by two Christian lords who had quarrelled over the principality of Beneventum. Lastly, the Spanish and African Muslim privateers did not leave the coasts of the

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII, p. 61. [Charles the Bald, King of France, 843—877. Lothair, Emperor, 840—855. Pepin the Younger, Duke of Aquitaine, 838—846. *Tr.*]

peninsula in peace, and in 846 they went so far as to go up the Tiber and ransack the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at the very gates of Rome. Moreover, certain parts of Genoa suffered so much at their hands that even the priests and monks had to take up arms to fight against them.¹

Lastly, Muslim Spain was itself afflicted by a number of evils, and factions were the order of the day. No longer able to find rich booty on the coasts of France, the Normans made descents on Lisbon, Seville and other rich towns of the peninsula. To add to the distress of the land, a terrible famine destroyed crops as well as animals, while what was left was destroyed by locust storms from Africa. It is indeed to the credit of 'Abdur Raḥmān that in such unfortunate circumstances he did all he could to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects.

In 848, while the Muslim freebooters were ransacking the whole Mediterranean coast from Marseilles to Genoa,² the younger Pepin, who was at war with his uncle Charles the Bald for the possession of the Languedoc, and who had invited the Normans once before, now besought the

¹Bollandistes' collection, *Vie de St. Bernulphe*, under date March 24. A number of details about the descent of the Musalmans on the county of Nice are given in the manuscript works of Giofredo entitled *Storia delle Alpi maritime*, a work which is preserved in the archives of Turin. M. le Chevalier César de Saluces, member of the Academy of Turin, has been good enough to make extracts from this manuscript for us. One may also consult the *Histoire de Nice* by M. Durante, Turin, 1823, 3 vols. in 8vo. A number of mistakes about the Muslims will be found duly corrected in these two works.

²Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII, p. 66.

Muslims to come and help him. The intermediary between Pepin and Cordova was William, Count of Toulouse, grandson of the same William who, barely fifty-five years before, had become famous for his patriotic zeal and religious fervour. William was received well at Cordova, and, with the help of the soldiers he obtained from there, he captured Barcelona and some other Catalonian towns from Charles' representative.¹

About this time some Muslim adventurers, who had again penetrated as far as the town of Arles, were forced to remain there owing to contrary winds, and were massacred by the natives of the country. At the same time, however, a Muslim army, commanded by Mūsa, Governor of Sarragossa, advanced from Urgel and Rivagorsa right into France and put everything to fire and sword. Such was the utter terror of the people that they, of their own accord, offered the invaders their silver and all they possessed in order that their lives might be saved. At last Charles the Bald was forced to sue for peace and offer rich presents to the intruders.² It was about this time, 850 A.C., that news of the Christian "martyrdoms" reached France. It would be better here to give an account of what led to these persecutions.

Islamic law ordains that there shall be complete liberty of conscience for the Christians and they shall be liable to pay only a monetary contribution.

¹ Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII, pp. 41, 565, and 581.

² Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 42, 64 and 66.

But such Christians must be born of Christian parents, while if one of them be a Muslim the child is supposed to follow his religion. There is a saying of the Prophet that the child of necessity follows the religion of the parents whose faith is superior,¹ and the Muslims naturally interpret this maxim in favour of their own faith. The same principle applies to the minor children of a Christian man or woman who has been converted to Islam ; if the child, on attaining his majority, refuses to adopt Islam, the magistrate can force him to do so.² In the second place, the Christians who have never been converted to Islam have only to raise their hands and utter the creed, "There is no deity but God, and Muḥammad is God's Messenger" ; and once those words are uttered they become Muslims and can no longer follow the precepts of another faith. Lastly, the Christians must abstain from all insult to the Prophet or his religion. If they transgress any of the above points, the only alternatives open to them are Islam or death.

Now we have already seen how marriage between the Muslims and the Christians was a matter of common occurrence in Spain ; it therefore sometimes happened that the mother taught her children, especially the girls, the dogma of Christianity which often led to the most terrible results.

It was rumoured that Parfait, a priest of Cordova, who was known for his Islamic as well as Christian learning, had pronounced the creed of Islam in a

¹D'Ohsson, *Tableaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, Vol. II, p. 313 ; Vol. V, p. 167.

²Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 111 ff.

moment of forgetfulness. One day some Muslims chanced to meet him in the streets of Cordova and, entering into conversation with him, interrogated him as to what he thought of their Prophet and the religion he propounded. Fearing that his reply might embroil him in some trouble, he at first refused to answer ; but, as these men insisted, he began to express his ideas freely and called the Apostle of Islam a number of vile names. The Muslims did not reply, but when a few days later they met him in a crowd, they denounced him as one who had spoken ill of the Prophet. He was immediately caught hold of and arraigned before the Qādī or judge. The Qādī asked Parfait whether he wished to recant what he had said, and, as he did not wish to recant, he was forthwith condemned to death.

This happened in the month of Ramaḍān, a month of fasting and prayer for the Muslims, and, to give the execution a solemn tinge, it was decided that it should take place at the end of the month, when, in order to make amends for their fast, the Muslims feast to their heart's content. On the day appointed, Parfait was taken to a great plain on the banks of the Guadalquivir and there he had his head cut off before a multitude of onlookers.¹

This event caused a great sensation in the country. Spain and even the centre of the Empire, Cordova, was still full of Christians who were left in charge of a large number of their churches and who had their own monasteries for inmates of either

¹The Church celebrates St. Parfait's Day on April 18.

sex, especially on the heights to the north of the city. Christianity had even penetrated right into the royal palace, through the slaves of all countries who worked there. Now, zealous Muslims thought that they were doing good by denouncing such Christians as came within one of the three categories above mentioned.¹ We even hear of families where brothers accused their own sisters in order to get hold of their property. In all such cases judgment was swift and sure ; the accused was asked whether he still persisted in believing in the Christian dogma, and if the reply was in the affirmative he was put to death.²

These deeds produced an effect entirely different from that intended by the government ; the courage of the ' martyrs ' soon became an object of admiration, and a number of Christians offered themselves for punishment even though they did not come in one of these categories. Among them may be mentioned a Frenchman named Sanche, a native of Alby, who was an inmate of the royal palace, probably having been taken prisoner in his infancy. Even women took part in these episodes ; timid

¹[But what does our learned author think about those "enthusiastic" Christians who broke the current law of the land through sheer fanaticism, and, when punished, were regarded as "martyrs." *Tr.*]

²[The author has greatly exaggerated this. In the beginning of the fanatical turmoil, the courts at Cordova were content to imprison the would-be "martyrs" so that they might mend their ways, and it was only after the days of grace had expired that they were put to death. Compare this with the treatment meted out by Christians to brother Christians in the XVI and XVII centuries in Europe. *Tr.*]

See *Vie des Saintes*, under June 3, 5, 7, 13, July 27, September 16, October 21 or 22, November 24, etc.

virgins who had never left their fathers and mothers before were seen to run many miles to Cordova in order to win 'martyrdom' by showering insults on the name of the Prophet of Islam !

These deeds reached such a point that many among the Muslims became actually afraid of the effects which so much shedding of blood might cause. On the other hand, the bishops of the country gathered together in congress, and, in spite of the protests of certain over-zealous priests, decided that it was as much against the spirit of the Bible to provoke the rage of the opponents of the Faith as it was virtuous to endure it when there was no provocation. Finally, the Christians of the northern provinces of Spain begged Charles the Bald to intercede on their behalf and he readily consented to do so.¹

With such acts of fanaticism before him, 'Abdur Raḥmān II seemed much irritated and, in his anger, he dismissed all the Christians employed in his palace. But the greater the number of the Christians he had to deal with, the more dangerous were his methods of reducing that number. While, however, these events were taking place, 'Abdur Raḥmān died in 852 and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad.

'Abdur Raḥmān had a taste for art and aesthetics, and under him Cordova became a centre

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII, pp. 64, 74 and 354. [Dozy has described this wave of fanaticism in detail in his *History* (Eng. Tr. pp. 268-288). But for a more detailed account vide C. R. Haines, *Christianity and Islam in Spain*, London, 1889. Tr.]

of letters, music, song and festivals of all kinds. Following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather and the Arabs of old, he himself became an ardent patron of poetry. Here is a translation of a few lines which he composed during one of his expeditions against the Christians, lines which were addressed to his favourite Queen, and which give us some idea of the period under review :

“Far away from thee, O Sweetheart, have I faced the Enemy and sent him arrows never to miss their target !

“ O ! the paths I have trodden, the defiles I have crossed one after another !

“ Thou shouldst have seen my face exposed to the full glare of the burning sun, while the very pebbles down below seemed to melt in the terrible heat.

“ But the Lord God has given me power to save the True Religion and I have given it an entirely new lease of life ; for verily have I overturned the Cross.

“ My soldiers have crossed the rugged and the smooth and have marched undaunted against the Infidel.”¹

¹Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 163. [The lines are :

عدانی عنک مزارا احمدا	وقودی الیهم سہاما مصیبا
فکم قد تخطیت من مسبب	ولا قیت بعد دروب دروبا
الاتی بوجهی موم الہجیر	اذا کاد منه الحصی ان یدوبا
تدارک بی اللہ دین الہدی	فاحییتہ و امت الصلیبا
و مرت الی الشرک جعفل	ملأت الحزون بہ والسہوبا

MUHAMMAD I. 852—886

'Abdur Raḥmān's successor Muḥammad proved to be greatly anti-Christian in his sentiments. He had all the churches, built during the Muslim occupation of the country, razed to the ground, and would fain have destroyed the parts recently added on to the old edifices. In his enthusiasm an idea flashed on his brain that he should expel from his dominions not only the Christians but the Jews as well who were really the sworn enemies of Christianity. Luckily for the non-Muslims, rebellions broke out in various parts of the land and he himself feared the serious loss of revenue which would necessarily have followed such a step, so that his thoughts began to wander to another field of vision.

War continued in Catalonia and on the banks of the Ebro. Mūsa who had been successful in the previous years was now defeated by the ruler of the Asturias. The Amīr now wanted to punish him and to deprive him of all authority, so he now veered round towards the Christians and even gave his daughter in marriage to Garcia, Count of Navarre. Lastly, Toledo raised the standard of revolt, and, surrounded by troubles, the Amīr of Cordova was entirely at his wit's ends.

Whichever way one turns about this time, nothing but wars, raids, calamities of every description meet one's eyes. In 859 the Normans passed through the Straits of Gibraltar and made themselves masters of Narbonne, a town which had a hundred years before withstood the whole might of France. They even entered the estuary of the

Rhone, and, advancing right up to the gates of Valence, put everything to fire and sword.¹ They were checked only by Gerard de Rousillon, well-known to readers of the French chivalrous romance, who forced them to retire. About the same time the French raided the islands of Sardinia and Corsica once again.

Here is a picture of France left to us in an almost contemporary document : On all sides churches were razed to the ground, towns destroyed, monasteries pillaged. Such was the rage of the barbarians that the Christians who had fallen into their hands were either put to death or ransomed after a huge price had been paid for them. Many left their belongings as well as their motherland ; many more moved into the interior in order to live in fortified places. But there were those as well who preferred to die rather than leave all they held dear in others' hands. There were, however, some in whom faith had not taken root and who did not blush to join hands with the foreigners themselves ; these proved to be the worst enemies of their motherland, for they knew the country well and it was impossible to escape the effects of the information they gave to the enemy. The result of all this was that some of the best known places were turned into ruins and some of the most famous buildings disappeared in the shadow of brambles and thorns.²

A certain 'Umar son of Hafṣūn, descended from

¹*Historiens de France*, Vol. VII, p. 75.

²Dom Vaissette, *Histoire generale du Languedoc*, Vol. I, evidence, p. 108.

Christian ancestors and a tailor by profession, penetrated right into the Pyrenees at the head of a troop of adventurers and vagabonds and made himself master of a number of fortresses whence he resisted all the might of the Amīr of Cordova.¹ In 866, Muḥammad, who was on the point of losing his northern provinces, requested Charles the Bald for a settlement of differences. Charles was himself in no mood to fight, so it was arranged that the French should remain in possession of Catalonia and should in no way lend any help to the rebels. The ambassadors sent to Cordova by Charles brought back with them camels laden with cloth, scents and other costly presents.²

Spain itself was in a thoroughly wretched condition. Lack of water, famine, pestilence, earthquakes, wars, rebellions, in fact everything seemed to conspire against that unfortunate land. A lunar eclipse, moreover, plunged the country in complete darkness and the Muslims considered it to be a sure sign of the end of their empire. As the pious among them were of opinion that these evils were the outcome of the Divine Wrath, they thought that the best way of satisfying the Almighty was to fight the Christians to the death. There was, further, a development to be reckoned with,

¹Casiri, *Bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, Vol. II, p. 200. [For an account of the parentage, etc., of this 'Umar, see Al-'Adhārī, *Kitāb al-Mughrib*, 1849, Vol. II, p. 108, and Dozy, Eng. Tr., p. 317. I have not been able to refer to any passage in which 'Umar is described as having reached the Pyrenees. Tr.]

²Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII, pp. 83, 88 and 92.

and that was the imminent danger of the rising of the provinces which were under the sway of the Amīr of Cordova.¹

As a matter of fact, kings and potentates were quite powerless to surmount all these crises. In 869 Muslim adventurers again attacked Provence, and this time they raided an island formed by the waters of the Rhône called Camargue where they somehow managed to construct a harbour. Now Roland, Archbishop of Arles, owned some landed property in the island and was just then building a house there. The Muslims left their boats, attacked the house and, killing nearly three hundred workmen, arrested the Archbishop himself, and, after handcuffing him, took him to their boats. They fixed his ransom at 150 Silver Pounds, 150 mantles, 150 swords and 150 slaves, goods which had a decent market almost everywhere. In the meantime the Archbishop died, perhaps of fear ; but his captors kept his death a secret for fear of losing his ransom, and pressed the Christians for its immediate payment. It was only after this demand was satisfied that they had the dead Archbishop buried clothed in the clothes he had been wearing at the time of his death, so that the Christians who had come to congratulate him on his deliverance, could only take part in his last rites.²

¹[Our author seems to think that it is a part of Islamic belief that an eclipse should presage some calamity. As a matter of fact there are clear traditions of the Prophet where he is related to have said that eclipses are merely signs of God's work and have nothing to do with persons. *Tr.*]

²*Historiens de France*, Vol. VII, p. 101.

Charles the Bald died in 877 while on his way to Italy to give battle to the Muslims who had become masters of practically the whole of the southern part of the peninsula, and threatened the very heart of the Papacy. A prince without capacity or courage, always ready to profit at others' expense, Charles was one of the chief causes of the social dissolution which had sapped the strength of the French nation as well as that of the neighbouring lands. It seemed as if the Normans and the Muslims would not leave anything intact, while continuous wars raged between the prince and the party chiefs for the possession of the rich provinces of the realm. The condition of France, Italy and northern Spain seems to have reached the lowest depth of degradation and misery. But this was not all, as much more degradation was still in store for those unhappy lands.

Chapter III

COLONIZATION OF SOUTHERN FRANCE, NORTHERN ITALY AND SWITZERLAND. 889—1050

FRAXINET, CENTRE OF MUSLIM COLONIES. 889—975

THE period of French history which we are going to review now has a number of factors similar to those of the previous period, for there also we see the same scenes and the same degree of enthusiasm in the attack. There is, however, one great difference between the two, for, while the first series of attacks is aimed only against the coast of the provinces which lie on the frontier, these later onsets have a much wider expanse, and extend from Dauphiné right up to the borders of Germany. A Frenchman, while reading the accounts of this period of the history of his country, no doubt yearns to refresh his memory by bringing to his mind's eye all that has been grand and patriotic in the sons of the soil either before or after this epoch of Muslim domination ! How a patriotic son of France would feel humiliated to see these vast lands whence have sprung such a concourse of the brave and the heroic, delivered over to the mercy of those Asiatic peoples in whose character an average Frenchman could not see an iota of generosity which might act as a palliative to their excesses !

We have now reached somewhere about the year 889, when Dauphiné and Provence belonged

to one Boson, who had adopted the title of the King of Arles in spite of the fact that he did not belong to the imperial dynasty of Charlemagne, and was thus regarded as a mere usurper. The result was that, while he was made the target of incessant attacks, those among the rich and the powerful, who wanted to play their own game, took advantage of the general confusion then existing in the land in order to carve out large principalities and lordships for themselves. Under these circumstances it was only natural that the Muslims should not meet any obstacle in their onward march.

The following is an account of the colonization of Provence by the Muslims as given by contemporary chroniclers. We may here mention that we have ourselves verified it on the spot.¹

It so happened that twenty sailors started from Spain in a small fragile craft bound for the Provençal coast, but were overtaken by a storm and were driven into the Gulf of St. Tropès also called the Gulf of Grimaud, where they quietly disembarked without being seen. Round that arm of the sea stretched a forest, parts of which still exist,

¹See, above all, Luitprand, in Muratori, *Rerum italicarum, scriptores*, Vol. II, p. 425 ; the chronicle of Novalèse Abbey, *ibid.*, Vol. II, part 2, p. 730 ; and Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. IX, p. 48. Most of the modern Italian writers think that the Muslim colony was situated in the country of Nice near Villefranche, on the spot where St. Hospice castle was built afterwards. See the discussion on the subject in Muratori's collection, Vol. X, pp. ciii, cv, ff. But the course of events as well as the site itself seem to put us in great doubt. Also see Bouche's observations in his *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. I, pp. 170 & 772. [Boson was proclaimed King of Arles in 879 and ruled up to 887. *Tr.*]

which was then so dense that even the most intrepid could penetrate it only with the greatest difficulty. Towards the north could be seen a chain of mountains, rising one above the other in furrows, which dominated a large part of lower Provence a few miles from the sea. At nightfall the Muslims invaded a village which was situated quite close to the sea-shore, and, after massacring the inhabitants, spread over the country round about. When they arrived at the heights which crown the gulf on the northern side, and when their gaze ranged to the sea on the one side and the Alps on the other, they were not slow to perceive how easy it would be to turn this place into their permanent home ; for, while they could bring all they needed by way of the sea, the land-route opened to them such parts of the country as had so far been immune from foreign domination and were entirely undefended ; moreover, it was clear that if need be they could take shelter in the great dense jungle which surrounded the gulf on all sides.

These adventurers then made an appeal to all their co-religionists and compatriots whom they could find in the neighbourhood and even sent word to Africa and Spain for help. At the same time they set themselves to serious work, and in a very short space of time all the heights in the vicinity were covered by castles and fortresses of which the most prominent is called *Fraxinetum* by contemporary writers. It was named thus no doubt owing to the *Fraxini* or Ash trees which

were probably found nearby. We are of opinion that the site of Fraxinet is covered by the modern village of Garde-Frainet which is situated at the foot of an eminence near the Alps. There is no doubt that the importance of the site of the village must have increased considerably, for it is the solitary route whereby it would be possible to maintain communication between the coast and the northern plains. Even now we can see the remains of formidable works on the top of the hill, such as parts of a wall and a reservoir cut in the solid rock, and some parts of ancient ramparts.¹

When the fortress had been completed, the Muslims began to attack the neighbouring villages. Soon afterwards the lords of the surrounding country began to refer their private quarrels to them, and when they had finished with the powerful personages against whom they had taken action

¹Today there are no ash trees to be seen in these parts; but M. Germond, an Attorney of St. Tropès, told the author that there was once a forest of these trees adjoining the Gulf, that there was a Roman village called *Fraxinetum* and that the Saracens destroyed this village selecting a spot on the top of the hill which they called Fraxinet. As regards the site of this stronghold, M. Germond thought that the site generally pointed by common tradition was only a kind of advance guard from which could be seen the plains of lower Provence. He says that the high ground is only three hundred feet in circumference so that it could not have sufficed for more than a hundred persons at the outside, and that the real fort was half a league nearer the sea on the top of the hill now called Nôtre Dame de Miremar, where the remains of big moats can be seen even today.

Bouche has remarked that a number of places were named *Fraissinet* or Frainet, and as a matter of fact it seems that wherever the Muslims erected a stronghold in Dauphiné, Savoy or Piedmont, they named it after their chief fortress. We think that Bouche is correct in his surmise, for even now there are a number of places of this name in countries we have enumerated.

they almost invariably rid themselves of those who had called them and proclaimed themselves masters of the country. The result was that in a very small space of time a large part of Provence was opened to their forays. Such was the terror which their presence inspired that one saw ample evidence forthcoming for the oft-repeated saying that one Muslim was enough to put a thousand to flight¹.

Soon the terror became general² and after the Muslims had laid waste the plains they proceeded towards the Alpine range. We are now nearing the end of the ninth century when the kingdom of Arles was ruled by Louis, son of Boson, who was then absent in Italy where he had gone to help the enemies of Béranger, King of Lombardy, thus leaving his own kingdom defenceless in order to conquer others' territories. He was, however, taken prisoner by his rival who had him blinded, so that he became entirely unfit to govern his people any more. At the same time the Normans

¹Luitprand. The Qur'ān says (*surah* VIII, v. 66): "If twenty among you make up their mind to conquer, they will subdue two hundred infidels, and if you are a hundred, you will overcome a thousand."

²A tablet discovered in 1275 in the tomb of St. Magdeleine at Vèzeley, had an inscription to the effect that the body of the saint had been transferred to this place from the town of Aix in Provence during the reign of Odoïn owing to the fear of the Muslims. With regard to this subject, see *Histoire de Hainaut* by Jacques de Guyse, Vol. VIII, p. 203 ff., and Bouche, *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. I, p. 703. The author of the *Art de vérifier les Dates* says that the body was transferred during the reign of Eudes of Aquitaine about 730; but we must remember that the Vèzeley abbey was not founded till 867. *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. VI, p. 466. Thus, so far as this tablet is concerned, there can be no question that it was Eudes, Count of Paris, the same who adopted the title of the King of France about 897, who must have removed it.

continued their ravages in the heart of France, and an idea of their strength will be formed by the fact that only a few years before they had been able to capture Paris with the loss of barely a handful of their soldiers.¹ In addition to the Normans, the pagan Huns who had been driven from the banks of the Danube, overran Germany and Italy, destroying everything which came in their way, and were now only waiting for an opportunity to attack France itself.

By the year 906 the Muslims had crossed the defiles of the Dauphiné and, having crossed the Mont Cénis, had made themselves masters of the Novalèse Abbey which was situated in the valley of the Suse on the Piedmontese frontier. The monks of the Abbey had barely the time to escape to Turin with the relics of the Saints and other valuable objects with which the Abbey was replete, such as the library which was extraordinarily rich especially in classical works. When the invaders arrived there were only two monks left in charge of the monastery, who were given a sound beating, while they ransacked the convent and the village situated nearby and set fire to the local churches.² It was

¹Regarding this there is a poem in contemporary Latin by Abbon, which has been published with a French translation and notes by M. Taranne, Paris, 1834 in 8vo. : but such was the utter isolation of different parts of the country that the Musalmans are not mentioned even once in the whole piece.

[Louis, King of Arles, 887 – 927. *Tr.*]

²Chronicle of the Novalèse abbey, in Muratori's *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, part 2, p. 730. The Chronicler (at p. 743) counts among the chapels of the destroyed church of the abbey that of St. Heldrad, an old abbot of the monastery, who lived about the commencement of the

in vain that the inhabitants, who were able to resist the onslaughts, took to the mountains in the direction of the convent of Oulx between Suse and Briançon ; for the Muslims found the Christians wherever they went and killed them in such large numbers that the place was henceforth named the *Plain of Martyrs*.¹

In some places the Christians joined hands in order to face the Muslim invaders, and even took some Muslim prisoners and sent them to Turin. But one night the prisoners broke their chains and set fire to the convent of St. Andrew where they had been imprisoned. The fire spread to such an extent that a large part of the town was almost on the point of being given up to the flames.²

Not long after this the communications between France and Italy were broken, so that in 911 the Bishop of Narbonne who was called to Rome on urgent business could not start back owing to the fear of the Muslims³ who had occupied all the passes of the Alps, and if any one fell in their hands, there was a chance of his being put to

ninth century. The Roman Catholic church celebrates the day of St. Helderad on the 13th of March. The author of the Bollandiste collection thinks that he was born near Nice ; but the village of Lambesc near Aix in Provence also claims to have been his birthplace. [The ruse of making monks hide and tell exaggerated tales to the world is employed here as in the case of Monastier and Lerin. *Tr.*]

¹Or rather the " Multitude of Martyrs " (*Peuple des Martyrs ; Plebs Martyrum*). See the collection of the charters of the Oulx abbey, published by Rivantella with the title of *Ulciensis ecclesiac charterium*, Turin, 1753, in fol. pp. x and 151.

²Pingonius, *Augusta Taurinorum*, pp. 35 ff.

³Catel : *Mémoires de l'histoire du Languedoc*, p. 775.

death, or else of his release on the payment of a very heavy ransom. From these mountainous abodes they made frequent descents into the plains of Piedmont and Montferrat.¹

In 908 some Muslim adventurers had come to the coast of the Languedoc near Aiguemortes and ransacked the Abbey of Psalmodie which had been rebuilt after having been destroyed once before in the reign of Charles Martel.²

‘ABDUR RAḤMĀN III, 912—961

For a long time Islamic Spain had been a prey to internecine wars. In 912 the throne of Cordova descended to ‘Abdur Raḥmān III. During the fifty years in which he was the master of Spain, he was successful enough to unite all the Muslim provinces under his own sway and his Empire attained a very high degree of prosperity. It was he who, among all the leaders of the Iberian peninsula, was the first to adopt the title of Khalīfah and that of the Commander of the Faithful, and it may be said that he fully deserved his surname ‘the Great’ owing to the quality of his rule, which was beneficent and at the same time awe-inspiring.

Sancho-Garcia, King of Navarre, and Ordogne, King of Leon, allied themselves to Kaleb, son of Ḥafsūn, who was master of Toledo and the country situated on the banks of Ebro, and with the help

¹Luitprand, in the Muratori collection, Vol. II, part 1, p. 440.

²Dom Vaissette *Histoire, du Languedoc*, Vol. II, p. 45, and *Preuves*, p. 52.

of warriors from the south of France these allies resisted the might of 'Abdur Raḥmān for some time and thus became the virtual guardians of the French frontier on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees. But in 920 the uncle of the Amīr who was also named 'Abdur Raḥmān, surnamed al-Muzaffar or the Victorious, defeated his opponents, crossed the Pyrenees and laid waste a considerable part of Gascony right up to the very gates of Toulouse. War continued as before in all its terrible ferociousness on the other side of the Pyrenees entailing a series of invasions of a like nature ; but when al-Muzaffar was once coming back after one of his expeditions, he was taken by surprise by Garcia, son of Sancho, who recovered from him all the spoils which he had in his possession.¹

In Provence and Dauphiné as well as in the Alpine regions a cry of indignation arose against the action of the Muslims. It was, however, in vain that in the absence of rulers who might have supported the popular cause, some of the brave men of the country tried to withstand this all-devouring torrent ; it was in vain that they tried to pursue the invaders ; for, as there was no unity among them, all their efforts came to naught and most of them had to meet a most unhappy end.

The country round Garde-Frainet was entirely devastated and as the Muslims found themselves surrounded by ruins, they became more pitiless

¹Conde, Vol. I, p. 374 : and Pagi, *Criticism of the annals of Baronius*, year 920, No. 6.

and regarded these regions as another pawn in their hands. When its turn came, Marseilles had its principal religious edifice destroyed ; Aix was invaded, and it is said that in their fury the invaders had a number of persons flayed alive,¹ while the Bishop of Aix, whose name was Odolricus, fled to Rheims which now came under his immediate charge. The Saracens carried off the women of the country and threatened to perpetuate their own race through them. There are, however, reasons to believe that a number of Christians made common cause with the Muslims and took part in their attacks.

Such was the terror instilled into the minds of the people by the Muslims that the rich and the powerful among the inhabitants of the country were forced to leave all their possessions in order to remove the danger which threatened them in their homes. They considered as proper places of shelter only the tops of mountains, hearts of the forests and such places as were situated at great distance from inhabited localities. St. Mayeul, a scion of a rich family, owning a large property at Valencoles in the present department of Basses-Alpes, had to leave for Burgundy in order to stay there with some of his relations,² and St. Libéral, who succeeded St. Benedict, was forced to go back to his own native place, Brive-la-Gaillarde. The

¹*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, p. 696, Bouche ; *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. I, p. 736, and Jacque de Guyse ; *Histoire de Hainaut*, Vol. VIII, p. 201.

²Vide St. Mayeul, in the Bollandiste collection, May 11, pp. 670 and 679.

churches of Cisteron and Gap were given up to the ravaging hands of the invaders, while at Embrun the invaders put to death the Archbishop, St. Benedict, the Bishop of la Maurienne and a number of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood who had taken refuge there.¹ An ancient deed mentions three fortified towers near Embrun which were regarded as the centre of their activities by the local Muslims.²

In this period, so unhappy for the Frenchmen, there was not a vestige of trade or commerce left, and there was little communication going on between various countries of the European continent. It was, however, customary among the pious men of France, Spain and England to go on pilgrimage to Rome at least once in their life-time in order to visit the tombs of the apostles there. Moreover, the Bishops of Christendom regularly maintained their relations with the Holy See. But ever since the Muslims had barred the passages of the Alps, travellers were exposed to frequent danger and it was no use arming themselves or going in caravans, so that not a year passes when the Chroniclers do not mention one unfortunate occurrence or other.³

The Normans had taken possession of Normandy by peaceful means, and they soon settled

¹*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. III, p. 1067.

²*Histoire topographique etc. des Hautes Alpes*, by M. de Ladoucette, 2nd edition, Paris, 1834, p. 262.

³Collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. VIII, pp. 177, 180, 182, 192, 194, etc.

down to the ordinary pursuits of life. It was now the turn of the Huns, who crossed the Alps, rode like lightning through the Dauphiné and Provence, and destroyed everything they found in the Languedoc. The Huns came from the land of the Scythians of old, and, like their forefathers as well as the Tartars of the modern world, hardly ever left the backs of their horses, and fought their enemies with bows and arrows. They knew neither how to lay sieges nor how to fight on foot, but they invariably charged their enemies with great fury and dispersed immediately afterwards. Contemporary Christian authors represent them as living on raw meat, quenching their thirst by drinking blood and cutting out the heart of the vanquished opponent with their teeth. As they came from the extreme north of Europe and Asia, the common people of Western Europe regarded them as the very Gog and Magog mentioned in the Book of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse, now sent by the Divine Providence in order to avenge the sins of man. As the year 1000 A.C. was approaching, many among the Christians, specially the followers of the ancient Millennaries, thought that the end of a corrupt world was fast approaching. A bishop of Verdun who wanted to clear his own doubts, consulted a monk who assured him that Gog and Magog were to be followed by other barbarians in their terrible mission, while the Huns were merely an isolated people.¹ There is, however, no doubt

¹ Vide D'Archery's *Spicilege*, edition in fol. Vol. III, p. 369.

that in a very small space of time the Huns covered Languedoc with ruins, and so terrible were their ravages that men forgot all the crimes that had been committed before their arrival.

In 924 Hugh, regent of the kingdom of Arles in the name of King Louis, founded a monastery near the city of Vienne. The charter which he granted to that foundation says : " Our own sins have been the cause of the deprivation of the venerable religion of Christ as well as the former honour of the Church of which no trace now remains. These evils have been felt far and wide not only by the cruel persecutions on the part of the pagans but also by the covetousness of many a renegade Christian ; and it is for this reason that we have considered proper, etc.¹"

Piedmont and Montferrat were in no wise free from the ravages of the Muslims. The Chronicler of the Abbey of Novalèse² describes how one of his uncles, who was a soldier by profession, was going from la Maurienne to Verceil when he was waylaid by a company of the Muslims in a forest near the latter place. They soon came to blows, and in the scuffle which followed, a number of persons were wounded on both sides. But as the Muslims numbered more than the Christians they were in the end victorious, and they captured many Christians from whom they demanded a ransom. Among those who were thus taken prisoners by the Muslims were the Chronicler's own uncle and his

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. IX, p. 689.

²Moratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, part 2, p. 733.

servant. It so happened that his grandfather was on the way to interview the Bishop when he saw the servant taken through the town in chains ; and as he was not aware what had brought him thither, he offered his own cuirass of triple tissue as the price of his freedom. But when he came to know that his own son was also a prisoner in the hands of the Muslims, he ran the length of the town and had to appeal to the goodness of his friends in order to subscribe his ransom.

The Chronicler adds that about this time the Muslims advanced right up to the borders of Liguria. We read in the works of the contemporary writer, Luitprand, that the 'Barbarians' who had already invaded the town of Aquì in Montferrat (which was well known for its baths) in 906, came back under a chief named Sagitus in 935, but were defeated by the local inhabitants and cut to pieces. Luitprand also reports that some adventurers arrived from Africa in the same year, i.e., in 935, massacred the males and took women and children prisoners.¹

About this time the Huns crossed the barrier of the Rhine and invaded Alsace, Lorraine, Burgundy and Champagne, and after besieging Sens advanced right up to the Loire. At Orléans they were met by Ebbon and the warriors of Touraine and Berry who forced them to retrace their steps. The barbarians thereupon followed the road to Switzerland and made it the centre of their depredations in the

¹Vide Luitprand in Muratori, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 440 & 452.

surrounding countries.¹

Up till then the Valais, a district with a pleasant climate, in which were found the products of the temperate as well as of the cold regions, had been left undisturbed by these terrible invasions. It was in this remote district that the successor of St. Libéral to the See of Embrun as well as a part of their clergy had taken shelter. But in 939 the Muslims reached this valley as well and put everything to fire and sword. The celebrated abbey of Agaune, sanctified by the martyrdom of St. Maurice and the Theban legion, which the generosity of Charlemagne and other rulers had helped to embellish, was destroyed beyond recognition.²

The Muslim adventurers became more and more courageous every day, and soon the Tarantine country fell a prey to their ravages. It happened that a caravan was going from France to Italy and when it reached the passage of the Alps, the

¹As regards the invasion of the Huns, vide the collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. X, pp. 6, 23, 34, 44, etc. It seems that this invasion was identical with that described at length in the *Roman de Garin le Loherain*, which calls the invaders *Wandes* or *Vandales*, Vol. I.

²*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XII, p. 793. According to certain authors this abbey had been destroyed once before, i.e., in 900 A.C., as well; see also, p. 792. Moreover there is a Latin inscription in the church of St. Pierre, a village situated between Martigny and Sion on the slopes of Mount St. Bernard, the tablet of which seems to have been put up by Hugh, bishop of Geneva, when he built the church in 1010. The inscription reads as follows :

Ismælitæ cohors Rhodani cum sparsa per agros,
Igne, fame et ferro sæviret tempore longo,
Vartet in hanc vallem pæninam mersio falcem :
Hugo præsul Genevæ Christi post ductus amore,
Struxerat hoc templum, etc. :

Vide Schiner, *Description du département du Simplon*, Sion, 1812, p. 134.

Muslims fell upon it and killed or wounded a number of the Christians, forcing them to retrace their steps.¹

And now the whole of Switzerland was overrun by the Hungarians and the Muslims simultaneously. After the Muslims had made themselves masters of Valais, they advanced right into the country of the Grisons, where they ransacked the Disentis abbey which had been founded by a disciple of St. Columban and was well known throughout the country.² The same fate attended the church at Coire.³ We are moreover told how the Muslims reached the Lake of Geneva and proceeded to march towards the Jura Mountains. At the time with which we are dealing Switzerland formed a part of Trans-Juran Burgundy, and we read how Bertha, mother of the young King Conrad, retired to a solitary tower which stood near the modern city of Neuchatel⁴.

A desperate struggle was meanwhile taking place between the kings of the Asturias and Navarre and the Khalifah of Cordova, and it was so sanguinary that in the strife for the town of

¹ Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VIII, p. 194.

² Sprecher, *Chronicon Rhætiæ*, Bale, 1617, pp. 68, 197, ff.

³ In 940 Bishop Waldo complained of continuous ravages committed by the Muslims. The effect of these ravages could still be traced in 952 when Otho passed through Rhætia on the way to Italy. There exists an inscription of 956 which describes how Otho gave certain goods to the bishop as indemnity for the loss he had incurred. See the German collection published at Coire, named *Collecteur*, 1811, p. 235. The grant was confirmed in 965 and 972. Vide Herrgott, *Genealogiæ diplomaticæ augustæ gentis Habsburgicæ*, Vol. II, part 8, p. 84.

⁴ Vide Muller, *Histoire des Susses*, Vol. II, p. 117, French translation.

Zamora only, more than a hundred thousand lay on the field of battle.¹ In the end although the Christians won the day, they realized that 'Abdur Raḥmān, who had smothered all the rebellions within his Dominions and who had brought the Muslim forces within the peninsula under his control, was an adversary to be reckoned with. An Arab author recounts how 'Abdur Raḥmān had a hand like Moses, meaning thereby that he could alike make the rocks spout out water, split open the waves of the sea and make himself master of all nature. He also adds that the Khalīfah, carried the banner of Islam farther than any of his predecessors.² It was lucky for the Christians that

¹ The king of Navarre whose soldiers appeared on the battlefield was named Garcia but the Arab authors mention only his mother, who was apparently regent of the kingdom. They call her *Touteh*. See Maqqarī.

A German chronicler says that the Queen 'Toia' achieved a great victory over the Muslims in 939; M. Pertz, *Monumenta historice germanicæ*, Vol. I, p. 78. [Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 234, says that the battle was fought in 237 A.H., i.e., 851 A.C. *Tr.*]

² Maqqarī, No. 74, fol. 88 ff. [We have not been able to find the passage in the published edition of Maqqarī in which the Arab author is alleged to have described 'Abdur Raḥmān working miracles like the Prophet Moses. It is, however, related how in 338 A.H. (949 A.C.) an embassy arrived at the capital of the Khalāfat from Constantinople (Ibn-i-Khaldūn fixes the date as 336 A.H. not 338 A.H.), and was received with great pomp and *éclat* according to the description given by Maqqarī. When the imperial ambassadors arrived in the presence of the Muslim Khalīfah the awe of the whole setting was such that not even the most learned could get up and deliver the required oration, and even such a giant of literature as Abū 'Alī al-Qālī Ṣaḥīb. al-Amālī, who was then staying at the Palace as the guest of the Khalīfah, was awestruck and could not continue. Upon this Munẓir ibn-i Sa'īd al-Baṭṭāṭī got up and delivered a speech *ex tempore*, which was at once a most interesting and lucid piece of oratory. In this speech the orator begins by mentioning how 'Abdur Raḥmān has followed in the footsteps of the Prophet Moses in uniting a disintegrated and weak people and in making

about this time the African provinces (*i.e.*, the country now under the suzerainty of Morocco) were in turmoil, so that 'Abdur Raḥmān felt a great desire to extend his power and authority beyond the seas. Moreover, an Empire was being built up just then along the coast of Tunis by certain chiefs who claimed to be descended from the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima and who therefore dubbed themselves Fatimids. The result was that the discontented provinces became an apple of discord between the two kingdoms, and the forces of 'Abdur Raḥmān and his successors were consequently diverted towards the South.¹

In 940 Fréjus, then a town of considerable extent and a port of call for ships from all parts of Western Europe, was captured by the Muslims, who thereupon banished the entire population of the place. The same treatment was meted out to Toulon, which later on became such a dread of the

his Empire of Andalus strong and respected. For details, Maqqarī, Vol. I, pp. 170 ff. *Tr.*]

¹[The author seems to be a little prolix and ambiguous here. The facts are as follows. In 297 A.H. (909 A.C.) 'Ubaidallāh al-Mahdī, the Fatimid, conquered the province of Africa from the Aghlabites and founded the Fatimid Empire. His successors cast longing eyes at Spain which was reported to them to be easy of conquest. 'Abdur Raḥmān felt the danger from the south and while on the one hand he helped the Idrisids of Morocco against the Fatimids, on the other adopted the title of the Khalīfah of Islam in 317 A.H. (929 A.C.). What he really counted was not to extend the limits of this Empire in the south but to ward off the danger which beset Spain from the establishment of the Fatimid State. The provinces which are mentioned by the author were really ruled by the Idrisids who were entirely independent of foreign control. The Fatimids wanted to control them, hence the opportunity of 'Abdur Raḥmān to interfere in African affairs. *Tr.*]

the barbarians.¹

In the meantime Hugh, who had now become Count of Provence, and who had evidently taken no lesson from the example of King Louis, went to Italy in order to claim the crown of Lombardy. When the cries of his subjects were reported to him, he immediately retraced his steps towards the Alps and declared he would take no rest until he had driven the Muslims altogether from the land. It was necessary at the outset, however, to capture the Castle of Fraxinet, through which they were able to keep up their communication with Spain and Africa, and which was also their inland centre. As this stronghold had to be attacked both by sea and by land, Hugh sent word to his brother-in-law, the Emperor of Constantinople,

¹We read in the charter of the Abbey of St. Victor and Marseilles, dated 1005, the following :

“ Cum omnipotens Deus vellet populum Christianum flagellare per sævitiam paganorum, gens barbara in regno provinciæ irruens, circumquaque, diffusa vehementer invaluit, ac munitissima quæque loca obtinens, et inhabitans, cuncta vastavit, ecclesia et monasteria plurima destruxit, et loca quæ prius desiderabilia videbantur in solitudinem redacta sunt et qua dudum habitatio fuerat hominum, habitatio postmodum cæpit esse ferrarum.”

Also Dom Martenne, *Amplissima Collecto*, p. 369. On the other hand, the following is an account of the condition of the church of Frejus according to a charter grant about the time when the country was after all rid of the foreigner :

“ Civitas Forojuliensis acerbitate Saracenorum destructa atque in solitudinem redacta, habitatores quoque ejus interfacti, seu timore longius fuerunt effugati : non superest aliquis qui sciat vel prædia, vel possessiones quæ ecclesia succedere debeant : non sunt cartarum paginæ, desunt regalia præcepta. Privilegia quoque, seu alia testimonia, aut vetustate consumpta aut igne perierunt, nihil aliud nisi tantum solo episcopatus nomine parmanente.” *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, *Instrumenta*, p. 82.

requesting him to send a few ships of war as well as some 'Greek Fire,' which seemed to be the most effective engine of war against the navy of the Muslims.¹

It was in 942 that the Greek fleet arrived in the Gulf of St. Tropès, while Hugh hurried home with his army. The Muslims were attacked with the greatest energy and vigour, and had their ships and their works on land entirely destroyed by the Greeks, while from the other side Hugh advanced and forced his way right into the castle compelling the Saracens to take themselves to the neighbouring heights.² When everything seemed to point to the final end of the Muslim power in France, Hugh heard that his rival Béranger, who had escaped to Germany, was thinking of coming back in order to advance his claim to the throne. Hugh, thereupon, not considering the great evils which weighed so heavily on his unfortunate subjects, ordered the Greek fleet to turn back home immediately, while he allowed the Muslims to keep in their power all the positions which they were holding, at the same time stipulating with them that they should occupy the summit of the Great St.

¹Luitprand, in Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, p. 462.

[Hugh, Count of Provence, 927. The Emperor of Constantinople in 942 was Romanos I. *Tr.*]

²Vide Luitprand's account, *ibid.*, p. 464. We find in the various incidents of this siege detailed in Delbène's work *De regno Burgundiæ transjuraniæ et arelatis*, Lyons, 1602, in 4to, and these details have been copied by a number of writers. But Delbène does not quote any authority; and these details as well as a large part of his work seem to have been the product of his own imagination. We will come back to this work later.

Bernard and other Alpine heights and would not allow his rival to cross over into France. Here Luitprand suddenly stops in the middle of his chronicles and addresses Hugh in the following vein :

“ How strange, indeed, is the manner in which thou defendest thy dominions ! Herod, in order not to be deprived of his worldly kingdom, scrupled not to kill so many who were innocent ; on the contrary, thou, in order to attain the identical object, alloweth them to escape who are without doubt criminals and fit to be put to death. Verily thou hast forgotten the great wrath of our Lord with Ahab King of Israel, who had spared the life of Benadab King of Syria, when the Lord spake unto him thus— ‘As thou hast let him live whom I had condemned to death, thy soul will suffer for his sin and thy people for his people.’ ”

Luitprand then turns to the Great St. Bernard and addresses the mountain as follows :

“ How strange art thou, Mountain of Jupiter, that leaveth the most pious to die and sheltereth the villainous Moors ! Miscreant ! Thou dost not blush to lend thy protection to those who dare to shed Christian blood and live on brigandage ! I am at a loss for words ! Be thou consumed by lightning or broken into a thousand particles, or better still replunged into Eternal Chaos.”¹

¹Luitprand's words are :

Mons transiri Jovis, mirum
Haud suetos perdere sanctos,

From this time onwards the Muslims became braver and braver, and it seemed as if they had settled down in Europe for ever. They began to marry the girls of the land they had now made their own and adopt its native culture, while the local potentates exacted only a small tribute from them.¹ Those who had made the tops of various hills their home did not fail to despatch such travellers as displeased them in any way, and exacted a heavy price from others. "The number of the Christians whom they put to death," says Luitprand, "was so great that few can make a correct estimate of those who were killed."²

The Great St. Bernard was then called Mount Jupiter, whence the word Montjoux has been derived. It is situated between the Valais and the Valley of the Aosta and is on the direct line of

Et servite malos, vocitant
 Heu ! quos nomine Mauros.
 Sanguine qui goudent hominum
 Juvat et vivere rapto.
 Quid loquar ? ecce dei cupio
 Tete fulmine adjuri.
 Conscissusque chaos cunctis
 Fias tempore cuncto.

As it is easy to gather, the evidence could not have been direct ; and Muratori, who has published Luitprand's chronicle in his great collection, apparently ignored it altogether when he compiled his Italian annals : for, when he comes to the year 942, he mentions an alliance between Hugh and the Muslims of Fraxinet, he says that he does not know where the Muslims had settled down. As a matter of fact whatever Muratori says about the incursions of the Muslims in Italy and France is generally defective.

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. IX, p. 6.

²Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 207, and Luitprand's chronicle, in Muratori's great collection, Vol. II, p. 464.

communication between Switzerland and Italy. The Muslims, after becoming masters of this extremely important point, poured out into the neighbouring lands.

The same kind of ravages were committed in the country of Nice which then formed part of the kingdom of Arles, as well as on the whole of the Genoese coast. It seems that a body of the Muslims settled down in the town of Nice, and even today there is a part of the town which is called the Saracen Quarter.¹

Lastly Grenoble and the rich valley of the Graisivaudun was occupied by the followers of Islam, while the Bishop of Grenoble retired to the Priory of St. Donat on the Rhone, a few leagues north of Valence, with the relics of the Saints and the wealth of his Church.²

We have reason to believe that the Muslims of Piedmont erected a number of fortresses in their

¹Durante, *Histoire de Nice*, Vol. I, p. 150.

²We are not aware of the exact date of the capture of Grenoble by the Muslims ; but in view of the fact that an inscription tells us that even in 954 it had been a long time since the place was occupied, it could not have been much after 945. The following lines have lately been deciphered on a slab found on the facade of a belfry built by Bishop Isran of Grenoble, bearing date LMIIII :

Per Mauros habitanda diu Granopolis ista
Lipsana sanctorum praesum ab orbe tollit.

We have taken this inscription from a thesis on the environs by M. Jean Claude Martin, called *Histoire chronologique de Jovinzieux*, Valence, 1812, in 8vo. We think that M. Martin has read and interpreted the inscription a little incorrectly. In any case what uncertainty there may have been has been removed by a passage in a hymn which used to be sung in the Priory and which M. Martin himself quotes :

Quum a Mauris habitanda Grannopolis esset,
Lipsana Sanctorum praesul habere cavet.

new home and made them the centre of their numerous expeditions as well as places of refuge from the enemy. The chronicle of the Novalese Abbey mentions one of these strongholds which he calls Frascenedellum. This may correspond to one of two different places ; there is, firstly, a place called Frassineto near the Po, a short distance from Casal which was once named Fraxinetum either owing to a forest of ash trees close by, or else in imitation of the better known Fraxinitum of Provence ; or it may have been the site of a fortress now called Fenestrelle. Whichever surmise may be correct, we will quote the account of the Novalese Abbey chronicler who is bound to have been well informed in that he was himself a resident of the place he has described. About the time when the Muslims occupied Frascenedellum Castle and made it the centre of their forays, a native of the country, Aymon by name, somehow or other got himself admitted to their ranks. Now, as a rule, the Saracens took with them women and children, mares and cows, jewels and other precious articles, on which they could lay their hands. One day they found among the booty a woman of striking beauty, who fell to Aymon's share ; but it so happened that one of the officers superior to Aymon in rank claimed her and took her from him by force. Aymon, in order to avenge the wrong done to him, went and persuaded Count Rodbaldus, who at that time dominated Upper Provence, to come and rid the country of the

foreigner.¹ The Count welcomed Aymon's suggestion most heartily and appealed to the Lords and warriors of the land, and when he had collected them he attacked the Saracens at all their places of retreat, at last freeing the land of their yoke. The chronicler finishes his narrative by remarking that Aymon's family still lived during his lifetime.²

About this time, in 952, the Huns had invaded Alsace and menaced the country round about Mount Jura. Conrad, the master of Burgundy, the Franche Comté, Switzerland and Dauphiné, thought it would be well if the Muslims could be played against the Huns. He, therefore, wrote to the former as follows: "These dacoits of the Hungarians! Why do they want to grab the land which is in your possession? Is it not better that we two should join hands and drive them out of the country?" In almost the same breath he said to the Huns: "Why do you always keep away from me while the Muslims have the richest and the choicest valleys in their possession? I promise that if you help me in driving them out I shall put you in their places." Conrad also pointed out to the Huns the exact place where the armies might meet. When the appointed day arrived, Conrad took all his troops with him, and when he saw the Muslims and Huns at each other's throats and noticed that they had lost their energy considerably, he fell

¹This is probably Rotbaldus II, Count of Folcarquier, who lived about 945. See Bouche, *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 30.

²Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, part. 2, p. 376.

upon them and perpetrated the most horrible carnage and bloodshed conceivable, and those among them who escaped his sword were sent to Arles and sold as slaves.¹

We do not know where this battle, which at first sight does not seem very probable, took place. We know that the centre of the Muslim power was then in Provence and that the Huns poured into France through Alsace and the Franche Comté, so that they must have met somewhere in Savoy. As a matter of fact, this part, which was then called the Maurienne, was in the possession of the Muslims for a long time,² so much so that certain writers have fearlessly put forward the theory that the name, *La Maurienne*, was derived from the Moorish occupiers of the country, although we know for a fact that it was known by that name even in the sixth century.³ Perhaps it is this fact which, with a certain alteration in nomenclature, is described in the *Roman de Garin de Loherain*. This romance tells us that the Maurienne was then under the rule of a prince named Thierry who,

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. IX, p. 6 ; M. Pertz's collection, Vol. II, p. 110. [Conrad, ruler of Burgundy, 937—993. The battle took place at Orbe in the Vaudois. *Tr.*]

²We gather from a letter of Bishop Billet of St. Jean de Maurienne, who made the history of the country the special subject of his study, that there are many places which recall the era of the Muslim occupation of those parts : for instance, in the neighbourhood of Modane there is the *Vallon Sarrazin* and the village of *Ferney*. We have already noted that Bouche is of the same opinion. [There is a Ferney near Geneva, which is now called Ferney-Voltaire on account of its associations with the great French philosopher. *Tr.*]

³*Historiens de France*, Vol. II, pp. 11 ff.

when hard pressed by the Muslim potentates, begged the King of France for help.¹ The French warriors, the most prominent among whom were the soldiers from Lorraine, came to Lyons and descended the valley of the Rhone right up to its confluence with the Isere. They then directed their steps towards the north-east and found the Muslims stationed in a valley called *Val profonde* where they cut them to pieces.²

About this time the Muslims overran the whole of Switzerland and advanced right up to the gates of the town of St. Gall near the lake of Constance. They had become so familiar with mountain warfare that, according to a contemporary writer, they even surpassed the buck of the desert in the lightness of their feet. They no doubt constructed a number of towers in the neighbourhood, the remains of which are still to be seen today. The same author deplores that such an utter demoralization had set in among the Christians that one could easily compile a large book on the subject ! At last the head of the abbey of St. Gall, named Walton, dedicating himself to the service of the community,

¹By a remarkable anachronism, the poet supposes that all these facts took place during the reign of Pepin. See our Introduction.

²See *Roman de Garin*, Vol. I, pp. 73 ff ; also, the *Histoire de Hainaut* by Jacques de Guyse, Vol. VIII, p. 270. If we believe Delbene's *de regno Burgundioe*, p. 124, the Muslims were in occupation of Savoy for a much longer time. They remained masters of the Cules Castle on the banks of the Rhone opposite Seyssel and were driven away from these parts only in 970 by a Saxon warrior whom Delbene calls Geraudus, and whom he considers to be the forefather of the regnant House of Savoy. But Delbene's veracity is doubted, and as Guichenon observes in his *Histoire de Savoie*, the castle of Cules was not built till much later.

took with him a certain number of courageous men armed with lances, scythes and hatchets, and cut the invaders to pieces while they were asleep. Some were taken prisoner while others succeeded in escaping. Those who were taken prisoner were brought to the abbey, where they entirely refused to take any nourishment or even to quench their thirst, and in the end died of sheer starvation.¹

While this victory, coupled with the overthrow of the Huns by the Germans which henceforth reduced them to utter impotence, gave the Swiss and their neighbours a certain amount of rest, it at the same time threw into greater relief the troubles of the Dauphiné, Provence and the affected parts of the Alpine region. Moreover, so long as the Muslims had their foothold in France, where they continuously received help from their brethren overseas, there was no hope of rest from their continuous devastations. The Christian ruler, who then played the most important part in European politics, was Otto, King of Germany, later Holy Roman Emperor, who earned by his inherent capabilities the title of '*the Great*.' Otto entered into diplomatic relations with the most prominent rulers of his time, especially the Khalifah of Cordova who was regarded as the protector of the colony at Fraxinet. A contemporary writer

¹Chronicle of the abbey of St. Gall in M. Pertz's collection, Vol. II, p. 137. The chronicler sometimes calls the Huns *Agareni*, a name which is applied to the Muslims by certain contemporary writers, and thus confuses his account. But at least in this particular place he names the Saracens specifically. [Agareni, Descendants of Hagar, wife of Abraham. Tr.]

describes with great admiration the numerous presents which Otto received from the four corners of the Globe, and mentions among other things lions, camels, monkeys, ostriches and other animals foreign to the lands of France and Germany.¹ Taking charge of the cause of the Christians, Otto decided to send an embassy to Cordova. Unfortunately 'Abdur Raḥmān had used some expressions derogatory to Christianity in a letter which he had previously written to Otto, so that Otto now considered it his duty to choose a man for his diplomatic mission who might not only take part in the controversy but who might actually try to convert the Khalīfah himself! He thereupon hit upon John, a monk of the abbey of Gorze near Metz.

This happened in 956. Both Christian and Arab authors unite in extolling the magnificence of the court of Cordova. The whole of Europe was filled with admiration at the fine arts, manufactures and the polished manners of this centre of Islamic Spain. 'Abdur Raḥmān maintained direct relations with the Emperor of Constantinople, the Pope and a number of the Christian princes of Spain, France, Germany and the Slav countries. The Arab authors relate how Christian potentates paid homage to the Muslim Khalīfah and deemed it a great honour if that sovereign should deign to allow his hands to be kissed by their representative at the court of Cordova. Whenever any such embassy

¹Witikind, in Meibom's collection, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, Helmstaedt, 1688, Vol. I, p. 658. [Otto the Great, Emperor, 936—973, *Tr.*]

arrived at the capital, especially when the ambassador of the Emperor of Constantinople was received there, 'Abdur Raḥmān ordered the utmost magnificence to be displayed ; the richest of carpets were spread in the streets which the ambassador was to tread, the royal bodyguard, to the number of a few thousand, was ordered to stand at attention on both sides of the thoroughfare and the princes as well as the great officers of state stood at the foot of the throne at the time of the reception of the distinguished guest. Everywhere Imāms delivered sermons from the pulpits of the mosques extolling the glory of Islam, while poets, whose writings were appreciated all over the country, did their best to touch the innermost sentiments of the people by their choicest words and phrases.¹

Although John's embassy was not received with the same enthusiasm, it cannot be said that its reception was devoid of all solemnity. We have got a description of this embassy written by one of the monk's disciples, and as it throws a lurid light on the contemporary condition of France and Spain, it would not be out of place here to quote a few passages from it.

John was accompanied by one other monk, while the presents which the two carried with them were furnished by the abbey itself. John walked up to Vienne in the Dauphiné, from whence he took a

¹Maqqarī, Vol. I, pp. 235—240. In order to understand the scientific basis of these relations, vide Introduction *supra*, as well as the French translation of the account of the Arab author 'Abdul Laṭīf by M. Sylvestre de Sacy, p. 196.

boat down the Rhône to the sea, and thence to Barcelona. At the time with which we are dealing, Catalonia was a French dependency and the frontier between the Muslim and Christian territories passed through Tortosa where one crossed over to the dominions of the Khalifah of Cordova. The Muslim governor of Tortosa, who knew of the embassy beforehand, immediately allowed John to enter Muslim territory, and the monk had no difficulty in proceeding towards the capital. On his arrival at Cordova the Khalifah ordered all his travelling expenses to be paid out of the royal treasury ; he was received at the court in a superb manner and was put up at a house situated a couple of miles from the royal palace.

The Khalifah soon came to know the nature of the instructions which the monk had received from the Emperor. He really wanted to prevent any discussion taking place, as such a discussion would but be disagreeable to all the parties concerned, and so he requested the monk not to deliver Otto's letter to him at all and to regard it as entirely non-existent. He said that it was not proper that two personages of such a high station as he himself and the Emperor should enter into discussions about such matters as religion, and that the laws of the land entirely forbade anybody whatsoever, be he ruler or man-in-the-street, to utter anything in any way derogatory to the Prophet.¹ All these arguments,

¹See above. We read in the Ottoman code the following : "Whoever utters a blasphemous phrase against God, His attributes. His holy Prophet, or His holy Book, would be put to death without delay." Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Vol. VI, p. 244.

however, were of no avail, and when the Bishop of Cordova came to see the monkish ambassador, the latter abused him unceremoniously for his weakness and for the submission of the native Christian to the Muslim in certain principles of life, such as abstention from eating pig-meat and the circumcision of Christian children. When nothing could dissuade the monk from giving vent to his opinions, the Khalifah entirely refused to have anything to do with him; and when the monk insisted on an interview, the Khalifah sent word to him that he had sent one of the Spanish bishops to Otto three years before, and that the Emperor had kept him under his surveillance all this time, so that what he intended to do was to keep him as his guest for nine years, apparently because his own embassy sent three years ago consisted of three persons.

Anyhow, depending on the instructions he had received, the ambassador was convinced that the Khalifah would send a new envoy to Otto in order to know whether he was still of the same opinion as before. But the difficulty was to find someone who might be willing to carry on this diplomatic mission, for there was not a Muslim who wished to face the difficulties and inconveniences of such a long and arduous journey. As a matter of fact the religion of the Muslims lays down the minutest details of the ways of life, so that they disliked being in the midst of a non-Muslim population.¹ It was for this

¹Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire ottoman*, Vol. VI, p. 212; Vol. V, p. 47. [The author has again distorted the correct Muslim point of view much in the same way as in the case of Muslim navigation, for which see Translator's Note at the end of chapter I above. How was it

reason that the Muslims generally appointed Christians as their representatives abroad, many of whom belonged to the religious orders, who, by their beliefs and their social manners, could come into direct contact with those to whom they were sent with the least amount of difficulty. In the end, the Khalifah found a Christian layman, one who could speak both Latin and Arabic with equal facility, who was selected for the mission, and was later on made a bishop by way of award.¹

Over the border, Otto's son and son-in-law, who owned a part of the Emperor's land in fief, had revolted, so that Otto had to collect all the material at his disposal in order to subdue the rebellion. Thus, when the Spanish ambassador laid bare the state of things then existing, Otto had to make all the concessions that were demanded of him. The Khalifah thereupon agreed to receive the monk of Gorze, and a day was fixed for the royal audience.

This monk had spent his days at Cordova with the greatest possible simplicity. The Khalifah wanted to celebrate the day of his reception with pomp and *éclat*, so he sent word to the monk to decrease the severity of his rule and to put on a

possible to propagate Islam in the known continents if Muslims shirked living with their non-Muslim fellow men, and how was it possible to act upon the Divine precept of travelling through the lands which recurs so often in the Qur'an? The attitude of the early Muslims was just the opposite of what our author takes it to have been. *Tr.]*

¹His name was Recemundus : On the other hand Remundus was the name of a Spanish bishop who was a friend of Luitprand's, and it was he to whom he addressed his history. The Bollandistes have inferred with some reason that both these names refer to one and the same person.

gorgeous dress. But the monk replied to the royal command that the only beauty he knew was that of his own order. When this reached the Khalifah he thought that perhaps he had no means to purchase decent clothes, so he sent him ten pounds weight of silver¹; but the monk distributed all this among the poor, whereupon the Khalifah gave him permission, if he liked, to come to the audience chamber even wrapped in a sack, and promised to receive him well whatever his garb.

On the day appointed for the audience, the whole town of Cordova was up and doing. Troops, two deep, lined the route; here were persons of Slavonic extraction, holding their lances with one end low on the ground, there men of another nationality brandishing their arms; on one side were soldiers riding on mules at their ease, on that horsemen leisurely walking about the road. What surprised the ambassador most was the strange costume of the Musalmans and the varied expression on their faces. Evidently the roads were not paved, and this, added to the fact that it was summer time, was enough to cause the blowing of dust as the sea of humanity passed hither and thither. In all probability those who caused a considerable amount of surprise to the foreigner were

¹During the reign of Charlemagne the pound was of twelve ounces, and the pound of silver weighed nearly 77 silver francs, 88 centimes of the present French currency. When we consider the great rareness of silver in those days, we must multiply this by nine if we wish to know its actual value, so that the value of a pound of silver would now be equal to nearly 712 silver francs. See *Essai sur les divisions territoriales de la Gaule* by M. Guérard, Paris, 1832, pp. 172 and 181.

the dervishes and the Muslim clergy who generally accompanied the troops of the Muslim nations and who are always prominent in public ceremonies.¹

When the ambassador arrived at the palace, he was met there by the chief dignitaries of the realm. He then stepped on the entrance which was covered with the richest tapestries just like the interior of the palace itself. He found the Khalifah all by himself in a salon, sitting on the royal throne oriental-wise. When the ambassador approached the royal presence, the Sovereign extended his hand to him which he duly kissed. After the preliminary greetings which such an occasion demands, they began to converse about the state of affairs in Europe, and 'Abdur Raḥmān made profuse enquiries about Otto's power, his victories and the great impression which he had made on his contemporaries. The Khalifah had already been informed of the great difficulties which then beset the Emperor owing to the rebellions of his son and son-in-law ; and in spite of his flattering remarks he did not hesitate to inform the ambassador that he took strong exception to Otto's policy, at the same time expressing his candid opinion that a potentate should never let his power and authority go out of his grasp. As a matter of fact, it was only a few years since one of 'Abdur Raḥmān's own sons had dared to feel his way to the throne, but when his

¹[The author seems to think that there is an order of ecclesiastics among the Muslims as there is among the Christians. As a matter of fact a very large majority of the Muslims believe that Islam has prohibited priesthood altogether. *Tr.*]

father had been informed of what was taking place, he had the rebellion immediately crushed.¹

At last mention was made of the principal object with which the embassy had been sent. Arab authors, or at least those of them who are known to us, do not say a single word about the Muslim colony on the Provençal coast and their incursions into the interior, and this fact would lead us to believe that the Spanish Muslims did not attach much weight to that colony. Nevertheless, Luitprand, who is himself a contemporary of the events which we are describing, tells us that the colony was under the influence of the Khalifah,² and the author positively mentions that the object of the embassy was to put a stop to the devastations perpetrated by the Muslims of France and Italy. Unfortunately the description abruptly comes to an end at an extremely interesting point, right in the middle of a sentence, and as the manuscript which contains it is the only one of its kind, it is impossible even to hope for something more solid.³

The Saracens were driven out of Mount St. Bernard about 960, but we are entirely in the dark as to the chief events of this enterprise. There are certain later historians who depend more on the romantic accounts which were current in their days than on historical accuracy, and who have placed the scenes of the wars of Charlemagne and the

¹Conde, Vol. I, pp. 436—441.

²Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II, pp. 425 and 460.

³This description is found in the *Acta sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti* by Mabillon, pp. 404 ff.

Muslims, as well as the adventures of Roland, somewhere near these Alpine heights.¹ Moreover it seems that St. Bernard of Menthone, who built a hospice on the top of this famous mountain and gave his name to the entire chain, himself took part in the battle, for our authors speak of the short work which the saint had to make in order to rid the place of 'demons and false gods' who were still all-powerful there. All this shows that it was only with difficulty that the followers of Islam were finally driven away from this eminence.²

HAKAM II. 961—976

'Abdur Raḥmān died in 961 and was succeeded by his son Ḥakam II who had been his chief assistant in the government for a long time. Ḥakam was a prince of peace and a friend of letters, and right through his reign Spain saw the cultivation of arts and sciences with a success never to be surpassed. In the same way agriculture and the industrial arts received all the encouragement they deserved. As a matter of fact, the fierceness of the earliest conquerors had given place to the utmost polish in their traits, so that their manners became more chivalrous and this in a nation where women are supposed by some to have been condemned to the most unworthy position in life. Such was the

¹Vide Bollandiste collection, June 15, *Life of St. Bernard of Menthone*, p. 1076.

²Ibid., p. 1077. Vide also *Histoire de la destruction du paganisme en occident* by M. Beugnot, Paris, 1835, 2 Vols., in 8vo. Owing to lack of information about the occupation of Great St. Bernard by the Musalmans, it was attributed to the pagan deities right up to the present day.

change wrought in the society that we see persons of the gentler sex gracing the court by their presence and taking part in private gatherings, thus giving them a special tone by their natural grace and the refinement of their culture.¹

Immediately on ascending the throne, Ḥakam began to wage war against the Christians of Galicia, Catalonia and the Asturias chiefly in order to gain the confidence of his co-religionists.² But when the Christians expressed their desire to make peace with him, he acceded to their wishes. The Wazīrs of State and the generals of the army thereupon protested that all good Muslims were impatient to give another proof of enthusiasm for their religion and advised him to break the treaty of peace lately entered into. Ḥakam, however, was resolute, and refused to do anything of the kind, replying to them by reading the beautiful verse of the Qur'ān where the Muslims are bidden to keep their word religiously, for God will take count of all such promises.³ So far as the Count of Barcelona and the Catalan lords were concerned, Ḥakam imposed on them the condition that they should raze the fortresses lying near the border and should never take the side of any Christian prince against whom he might be waging war.

¹Conde, Vol. I, pp. 483 ff.

²[But see Dozy (Eng. Tr.), p. 448 where he says that it was the Christians who failed to fulfil the conditions of the treaty entered into at the time of 'Abdur Raḥmān. *Tr.*]

³Conde, p. 467. [Qur'ān, V, i. In spite of this distinct order the author says in chapter II that the Muslims are allowed to break their covenant with the non-believers! *Tr.*]

Provence and Dauphiné were still under the domination of the Muslims whose attitude grew ever more threatening. It often happened that a couple of Christian lords quarrelled with one another and then served as pawns on the political chessboard of the Muslims. At this time Otto, the conqueror of the Hungarians and master of all Germany, wanted to extend his sway over Italy as well. Béranger, King of Lombardy, was forced to quit his realm, and now the German prince made the Pope place the imperial crown on his head. As a matter of fact the politics of the Italian peninsula, which, bending under the foreign yoke, was soon to become a vast arena of wars and revolutions, had already begun to assume a certain form. Béranger's son, Adalbert by name, wanting to recover the property lost by his father (according to some of our authorities),¹ actually went to request the Muslims of Fraxinet for help, and Pope John XI, the same who had crowned Otto, also declared in favour of the malcontents.

The Muslims were driven out of Grenoble in 965. We have already seen how Isarn, Bishop of Grenoble, had retired to St. Donat which is situated on the way to Valence. Now in 965, Isarn, impatient to recover the possession of his lost see, issued an appeal to the nobles, warriors and farmers of the countryside ; and, in view of the fact that the

¹Alberic de Trois-Fontaine's work, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, accensiones*, in Leibnez's collection, Leipzig, 1689, in 4to., Vol. II, pp. 3 and 4. [Béranger had to quit Lombardy only to become the sole master of Italy in 900 and Emperor in 915. He died in 924. John XI, Pope, 931—936. *Tr.*]

Muslims occupied villages which were known for their fertility and wealth, it was agreed that each soldier should take possession of the conquered parts in strict proportion to his valour and service. This partition of the conquered land took place when the Musalmans evacuated Grenoble and the valley of the Graisivaudun, and even today such families of Dauphiné as the Aynards and the Montaynards trace the turn of their fortune to this struggle with the Muslims.

Isarn's see was in the greatest possible confusion, so he hurried back to establish order in it. After he had conquered the valley and the town, he declared himself sovereign lord of these tracts, while his successors remained in possession of a part of it right up to the French Revolution.¹

¹All the questions with regard to the occupation of Grenoble and the valley of Graisivaudun by the Muslims were enveloped in darkness till quite recently. We have already referred to an evidence of this occupation which is absolutely irrefutable. On the other hand there exists a charter in the cartulary of the church of St. Hugh at Grenoble, dated about the end of the eleventh century which begins as follows:

"Notum est omnibus fidelibus filiis Gratianopoltanæ ecclesiæ, quod post destructionem paganorum, Isarnus episcopus ædificavit ecclesiam gratianopolitanam: et ideo quia paucos invenit habitatores in prædicto episcopatu, collegit nobiles, mediocres et pauperes ex longinquis terris, de quibus hominibus consolata est gratianopolitana terra; deditque laborandum; in quorum castra sive in terras episcopus jam dictus retenuit dominationem et servitia, sicut utriusque partibus placuit. Habuit autem prædictus episcopus et successor ejus Humbertus prædictum episcopatum sicut proprius episcopus debet habere propriam terram et propria castra per alodiam, sicut terram quam abstraxerat a gente pagana. Nam generatio comitum istorum, qui modo regnant per episcopatum gratianopolitanum, nullus inventus fuit in diebus suis, scilicet in diebus Isarni episcopi, quicomes vocaretur, sed totum episcopatum sine calumnia prædictorum

All these successes were due to the fact that the power of the Muslims was on its downward path, and they only helped to accentuate the desire for freedom and liberty which manifested itself in all directions. In 968 the Emperor Otto, who was

comitum prædictus episcopus in pace per alodium possidebat, excepto hoc quod ipse dederat ex sua spontanea voluntate. Postisto vero episcopum succedit ei Humbertus episcopus in gratianopolitanum ecclesiam et habuit prædicta omnia in pace, etc."

See Charier, *Estat politique de la province de Dauphiné*, Vol. II, p. 69. We find in the same work, Vol. II, p. 77, another charter taken from the same cartulary, where mention is made of the territories which were ceded by Isarn to Rodolph, head of the House of Aynard, in return for his great gallantry. So far as the cartulary of St. Hugh (whence these two extracts) is concerned, see the *Bulletin of the Historical Society of France*, Vol. II, pp. 295 ff.

In a discussion held in 1094 between St. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble and Guy, archbishop of Vienne, as regards the possession of the Priory of St. Donat, and of another canton, it was recognized by both parties that in the time of Isarn the "pagans," that is to say the Saracens, had occupied Grenoble, while right through their occupation the bishop had resided at St. Donat. The bone of contention between the two prelates now was that while the archbishop of Vienne maintained that his predecessor-in-title had allowed Isarn to take refuge in the Priory, St. Hugh put forward the plea that the deed of gift of the Priory dated back to 879 when Boson, King of Provence, had made it over to Grenoble.

There are two reasons why the problem seems to be confused for our purposes; one is that in all the documents which deal with the occupation of Grenoble these foreigners are called 'pagans'; the other that the inscription of St. Donat was unknown right up to the present day. It was owing to this reason that those who are otherwise well-informed think that the Muslims occupied at least some part of the Grenoble country from the time of Charles Martel right up to the period with which we are dealing now; *Statistique du département de la Drôme*, by M. de Lacroix, 2nd edition, Valence, 1835, in 4to., pp. 72 and 78. On the other hand there are some who are led to believe that the Muslims had never so much as set their feet on the land. See Pilot, *Histoire de Grenoble*, Grenoble, 1829, one Vol. in 8vo. Dom Brial, who in the fourteenth volume of the *Historiens de France*, pp. 757 ff., has collected various fragments dealing with the discussion between St. Hugh and Guy of Vienne, thinks that the word "pagan" stands for Muslims.

then busy with Italian affairs, proclaimed his purpose to devote all his attention to this enterprise¹; but he died before he could undertake this work, so that it was left over for the future that some one else should take it upon himself to fulfil this desire.

A person was at last found who was held in high esteem by those who came in contact with him, and all that was necessary now was to nominate him as the leader of the people in order that he might gain the respect of the contemporary rulers as well. This was St. Mayeul, of whom we have already spoken and who was now the abbot of Cluny in Burgundy. Such was the respect in which his qualities compelled people to hold him that his name was once seriously mentioned for the high and exalted office of the Papacy. Mayeul had gone to Rome in order to pay homage to the churches and the saints and to visit certain convents of his order in that city. On his way back he passed through Piedmont and wished to enter his monastery by way of Mount Genèvre and the Valley of Dauphiné. The Muslims had established themselves between Gap and Embrun on a height which dominates the valley of the Drac exactly opposite the bridge of Orcieres.² When the saint arrived at

¹Witikind, in Meibom's collection, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, Vol. I, p. 661.

²*Pons Ursarii*; Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. IX, pp. 126 and 127. The Orciere passage exists even today. Nobody has an exact idea of the route followed by St. Mayeul, and it was only after the preparation of the map by Casiri that it was possible to make a study of the geography of France of those remote days. Generally speaking, the maps which accompany the works of the Benedictines are defective in spite of their utility in other fields.

the foot of the Alps, a large number of pilgrims and travellers, who had waited for an opportunity to cross over for a long time, thought that no better occasion could offer itself than the present one. Thereupon the caravan began to tread the path to the West but when it arrived on the banks of the Drac at a spot between the mountain and the river, it found the Muslims in possession of the heights all round. The Muslims, a thousand strong, sent on them a veritable shower of arrows, and it was in vain that the Christians tried their best to fly from the field, for they were pressed on all sides, and most of them were captured forthwith, among whom was the saint himself. He was, moreover, wounded in his hand while trying to protect the person of one of his companions.

All the prisoners were taken to a secluded spot. On their arrival there, the Muslims, who were struck by the obvious poverty of most of the pilgrims, went to the saint and inquired him as to his means of livelihood. Mayeul frankly confessed that while he was born of rich parents he had given up all his belongings and taken a vow of service to the Almighty, but that he was the abbot of the monastery which owned lands and goods of great value. On this the Saracens, each of whom wanted to have a share of the spoils, fixed the ransom for the abbot and the prisoners at eighty thousand francs¹; at the same time Mayeul was asked to send the monk who was with him to Cluny in order to fetch the required

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VIII, pp. 239 and 240. Also the Bollandiste collection, under May 11.

amount, on the receipt of which they would be set free.

When the monk was about to start, the abbot handed him a letter beginning with the following words: "To the Lords and Brethren of Cluny, Mayeul, unlucky Mayeul, prisoner and enchained ; the host of Belial has encircled me, and the bowstrings of death have held me fast."¹ On reading this letter all the inmates of the abbey were in tears. They immediately collected all the silver which was found in the monastery, bared the church of all its ornaments and (when all this was found to be insufficient) they appealed to the generosity of the pious men of the district. When the sum of money demanded was finally collected, it was forthwith sent to the Saracens who received it a short time before the appointed date. On receiving the ransom the Muslims set all their prisoners free according to their promise.

When Mayeul first fell into the hands of the "infidels," he tried to divert them from what he considered to be the most criminal way of life. Putting on the armour of Faith, says one of the chroniclers, he made up his mind to pierce those whom he regarded as the enemies of Christ by the wedge of the Word of God. He wished to prove to the Muslims the truth of the Religion of Christ, and he made it clear to them that he in whom they believed could not free them from the curse of spiritual death nor could be of any help to them whatsoever.

¹*The Second Book of Kings*, Ch. xxii, verse 5.

On hearing this the Muslims became furious and imprisoned the saint in the depth of a cave. But they soon regained their mildness and, touched by the unalterable calm of the prisoner, they sought to make his lot a little better. Thus when he required some food, one of them, after washing his hands, prepared a little paste on his shield, cooked it and handed it over to him with great respect and consideration. When one of them threw away the Bible which the abbot was in the habit of carrying about with him, his companions frankly objected to this and remonstrated that he should have a greater respect for the Book of the Prophet Jesus. Our contemporary author remarks here with great reason that the Muslims honour the Old Testament as much as the Christians, and regard Jesus Christ as one of the Great Apostles of God, the only difference between them and the Christians being that they consider him inferior to Muḥammad and proclaim that the Light which is destined to guide the sons of Adam till the end of the world was left to be proclaimed by the Prophet of Arabia. The same author adds that, according to the belief of the Muslims, Muḥammad was descended from Ishmael son of Abraham, and that it was not Isaac but Ishmael who was the son of Abraham's real wife.¹

St. Mayeul was captured in 972. It was an event which caused the whole countryside to take up arms, and Christians from all sides, young and old, rose to avenge such a terrible outrage. There

¹Re. Muslim opinion with regard to Ishmael, Jesus Christ and Muḥammad, vide our *Monumens arabes, persans et turcs*, Vols. I and II.

was then near Sisteron, in a village called Noyers, a man by name Bobon or Beuvon, who had demonstrated his enthusiasm for liberating the country more than once before. Taking advantage of the general enthusiasm, and, gathering together the farmers as well as the gentry, in a word all those to whom their religion and their country were sacred and who wished to take part in the glory of the enterprise, he built a castle exactly opposite the fortress occupied by the Muslims. What he wanted was to observe their movements from this point of vantage and to take the first opportunity of exterminating them. In the zeal attending his pious wish, he had prayed that if he were successful in ridding the country of the infidel, God should give him the strength to devote the rest of his life to the service of widows and orphans. It was useless for the Saracens to put difficulties in his way and all their efforts proved to be utterly unavailing. The hillock on which the Muslims had built their stronghold was called *Petra Impia*, and even in our own day it is called, in the language of the neighbourhood, *Peyro Empio*. A short time afterwards it so happened that the commander of the fortress abducted the wife of the sentry in charge of the gate, and, in order to take revenge for this outrage, the latter resolved to make Bobon's entry an easy matter. At last one evening Bobon came to the citadel with his warriors and effected the entry without any obstacle. All the Muslims who resisted the onslaught were put to the sword, while others including the chief himself had

to accept baptism.¹

About the same period, the inhabitants of Gap forced the Muslims to quit. We read in the local breviary that an alliance was made between the townsmen and a chief named Guillaume and that the Muslims were attacked at all posts they occupied by the allies. After the extermination of Muslims half of the town was given over to the Bishop and the Church, while the other half was retained by the captors themselves.²

After the liberation of Dauphiné, Provence also followed suit, but unfortunately we have not been favoured with practically any fact concerning such an important event and we only know that the movement was led by one Guillaume, Count of Provence,³ perhaps the same Guillaume who had recently made himself prominent in expelling the Muslims from Gap, for, as a matter of fact, that town was then dependent on Provence.⁴

Guillaume had endeared himself to his subjects owing to his love of justice and religion. He appealed to the warriors of Provence, lower Dauphiné and

¹Beuvon has since been canonized. See his life in the Bollandiste collection, May 22. His birthplace and the site of all his adventures was unknown right up to our own day, and it was mixed up with Fraxinet. It did not strike any one that even today there is a place near Sisteron called Fraissinie. The details of the locality of which we are writing were made known to us by M. de Laplanc, who once held the office of sub-prefect and who was a native of Sisteron. He had made a study of the medieval history of France. See also Bouche, *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. I. p. 240.

²Bouche, *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 44.

³Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VIII, p. 240.

⁴Provence was itself a part of the kingdom of Burgundy, which was then under the sway of Conrad, surnamed *the Pacific* to whom we have already referred.

the County of Nice, and began to put things in order for an attack on Fraxinet itself. On their side the Muslims saw that they were being followed right up to their last foothold, and, uniting all their forces, they came down from their mountainous resort in serried ranks. It seems that the first engagement took place at a spot called Tourtour near Draguignan, where there is still extant a tower which is said to have been erected in memory of the battle.¹ In this encounter the Muslims were forced back to their stronghold with the Christians at their heels. It was utterly useless for the former to offer any resistance, for the latter surmounted all the obstacles placed in their path, and the day ended in the rout of the Saracens who left the castle in the darkness of the night and fled to the nearest forest. The Christians, however, did not leave them alone even there with the result that most of them were either killed or imprisoned and the rest forced to lay down their arms.²

¹Bouche, *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 42.

²See the collection entitled the *Historiens de France*, Vol. IX, p. 127. Probably a number of Muslims took advantage of the sea-route and embarked for Spain, Sicily and northern Africa. If we believe in what d'Herbelot says in his *Bibliothèque Orientale* (under the word Moezz) and in what Cardonne says in his *Histoire des Maures d'Afrique*, Vol. II, p. 82, the Muslims were in possession of the island of Sardinia about this time, and in 970 the Fatimide Mu'iz (953—975) whose armies had conquered Egypt, passed through Sardinia on his way to his new territories, stopping there for a whole year. M. Mimaut also accepts the fact of this occupation in his *Histoire de Sardaigne*, Vol. I, p. 93. Nevertheless it is without any foundation, for the Arab author Nuwairī says, on the authority of the sources of d'Herbelot and Cardonne, that, prior to his departure for Egypt, Mu'iz stayed in his castle *Sardanya* near the city of Qairuwān in Africa for a year. See the collection entitled *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, Vol. XII, p. 483. In his *De regno Burgundiæ*

Not only were all the Saracens who submitted to the victors spared, but the Christians also left those Muslims alone who were then inhabiting the neighbouring villages. A number of them especially those who remained Muslims were made serfs attached either to the churches or to various landlords of the locality while others became Christian and completely lost their identity by mixing with the population in course of time.

The castle of Fraxinet was captured by the Christians about 975. It had been under the domination of the Musalmans for more than eighty years, and as it was the centre of the Muslim colonies in France, northern Italy and Switzerland, it must have contained a vast amount of wealth. All that fell into the hands of the victors was distributed among the soldiers ; while, in view of the fact that the countryside round about the castle had been completely devastated for miles and miles, Count Guillaume further rewarded the enthusiasm of the leaders of the army by gifts of land. We read the name of Gibellin de Grimaldi, a Genoese by birth, among those who were not only present at the time of the distribution but who actually received a part of the country near the Gulf of St. Tropès, a place which is called Gulf of Grimaud after him even to

(p. 146) Delbène also supposes that the Muslims were masters of Sardinia as well as of Corsica. He says that there was a chief named *Musectus* or *Muget* against whom the Count of Provence made an alliance with the Genœse and the Pisans. Delbène mentions a Muslim chief who invaded Sardinia and against whose invasions the Pisans had to defend themselves ; but this chief, whose real name was *Mujāhid*, does not come on the stage of history till thirty years later. We will discuss this point further on.

the present day.¹

We also read of a Christian warrior who became the lord of the town of Castellane in the modern department of Basses-Alpes. It is possible that the rise of the House of Castellane depended on the exploits of one of the members of this family in the locality. Mention should also be made of the freedom of the town of Riez in the department of Basses-Alpes, a town which even now celebrates its deliverance from the foreigners by sham fights held every year during the Whitsun festival.²

We can quite imagine that the Church was not forgotten in this distribution of booty, and as a matter of fact the Bishops of Fréjus, Nice, etc., received large amounts of land.³ We know that no part of the population of the country suffered so much at the hands of the Muslims as the clergy, and we see the Christian divines at the head of every attempt made to rid the country of the domination of the Muslims.

There were certain villages, such as those near Toulon, which had been entirely depleted of their inhabitants. As there was little evidence as to who was their rightful owner, there hurried to such localities a host of people eager to snatch the prize. Guillaume thereupon came from his residence at Arles and personally supervised the partition of the

¹Bouche, *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 42. Bouche has quoted a charter dated 980 by which Guillaume gave over the Gulf of Grimaud to Gibellin de Grimaldi. Papon, in his *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 171, however, does not accept the deed as authoritative: but we do not think that his arguments against the transfer itself are conclusive.

²Millin, *Voyages dans les départements du midi de la France*, Vol. III, p. 54.

³*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, p. 425.

land among the bourgeois, the lords and the churches.¹ Thus the ruined villages began to rise gradually from their cinders, and the villagers, who had been without any means of communication for a long time, began to deal with each other as before.

The quality of devotion which was a part of Guillaume's inherent character was reciprocated in the great loyalty of his subjects towards him ; and when he died, the voice of the people dubbed him with the glorious name of the *Father of the Nation*.

HISHĀM II. 976—1009

We have seen that the Castle of Fraxinet was retaken by the Christians some time about the year 975. After this loss the Muslims had absolutely no foothold on the soil of France,² and

¹ Apropos this subject, there is a curious passage in a charter dated 993 which has been preserved by Dom Martenne in his *Amplissima Collectio*, Vol. I, p. 349. The passage refers to a quarrel between Guillaume, Viscount of Marseilles, and a lord named Pons de Fos :

“ Cum gens pagana fuisset e finibus suis, videlicet de Fraxineto, expulsa, et terra Tolonensis coepisset vestiri et a cultoribus coli, unusquisque secundum propriam virtutem rapiebat terram, transgrediens terminos ad suam possessionem. Quapropter illi qui potentiores videbantur esse, altercationes facta, impingebant se ad invicem rapiantes terram ad posse, videlicet Willelmus vicecomes, et Pontius de Fossis. Qui Pontius pergens ad comitem, dixit ei : *Domine comes, ecce terras soluta est a vinculo paganæ gentis ; tradita est in manu tua donatione regis : ideo rogamus ut pergas illuc et mittas terminos inter oppida et castras et terram sanctuariam ; nam tuæ potestatis est terminare et uniusque distribuere quantum tibi placitum fuit. Quod ille, ut audivit, concessit : et continuo ascendens in suis equis perrexit. Cumque fuisset infra fines cathedra villæ, coepit inquirere nomina montium et concava vallium et aquarum et fontium.*”

² After having taken the Saracens over the Alps, the contemporary chronicles make them come back gradually to the coasts from which they

as the Christians of northern Spain had continued their victorious career and had kept the rich provinces which they had wrested from the Saracens during the last two hundred years, it seemed as if the followers of the Bible in France had nothing whatever to fear from the followers of the Qur'ān, and that the only menace to France now was that of the raids of the Muslim seamen who were still at their marauding work. But when, after the death of the Khalīfah Ḥakam in 976, the throne was occupied by his imbecile son Hishām, the reins of government really passed to a man, at once active and brave, a man whose ambition was to revive the ideas of the earlier warriors of Islam, and who, with the additional advantage of a more civilized age to help him, led his campaign against the Christians of Spain and the neighbouring lands with the view of gaining complete ascendancy over them. This was Muḥammad Ibn abī 'Āmir, later called *Al-Mansūr* or the Victorious owing to his brilliant exploits, the *Hājib* or Chamberlain of the Khalīfah, a dignity which was very much akin to

had led their incursions inland. We think that this part of the story as related by the chroniclers is extremely faulty. If some bands of the Muslims had really been left in the Alpine valleys, we think that they must have embraced Christianity or else were reduced to serfdom. Nevertheless Delbène (*De regno Burgundiæ*, pp. 169 & 187) thinks that after 980 and even 1000 A.C. there were some Muslims in the Alpine regions, and that their remarkable defeat was due to a person of Saxon parentage whom he calls Geroldus, Guillaume Géraud or Béraud about whom we have already spoken. Delbène ought to have cited some really good authorities in support of this statement, and as a matter of fact Guillaume Géraud must have been too young then to fight the Muslims. We cannot rely on Delbène's authority.

the French *Mayoralty of the Palace*. The moment he took the reins of government in his hands, Muḥammad began to put the affairs of the African provinces in order, so that the lost prestige of the Cordovan government might be revived. While he managed to draw a number of soldiers from those lands, he made an appeal to his robust countrymen and those young men who had begun to complain that they were being forced to live a life of complete inaction. Although no fighting was then in progress between the Christians and the Muslims, still Almanzor, as he was called by later European historians, was preparing to draw the sword out of its scabbard.

We must remember that the Spanish Muslims were all descended from forefathers who had their original homes in warmer latitudes, and it was only with a certain amount of hardship that they were able to bear the rigour of the northern cold weather. Moreover, except for the bodyguard of the Khalifah, there was no standing army in the country, so that the troops were temporarily recruited for every individual campaign. Under these circumstances it was only possible for Almanzor to send out military expeditions during the summer months. In spite of these limitations as to season the number of these expeditions during the space of twenty-seven years was fifty-six, and, as an Arab author says, in none of these was his banner seen to bow down before the enemy.¹

¹ [Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 258. *Tr.*]

The Muslim troops were almost always composed of cavalry ; they fell on places where they were least expected, and it was their wont to put all those to death who carried arms, make women and children slaves, take everything they could carry and destroy the rest. At the end of such expeditions the slave markets of Cordova, Seville, Lisbon and Granada were full of Christian slaves ready to be put to auction and, after being sold, they were taken to Africa, Egypt and other Islamic countries. Almanzor believed that his success against the Christians was a special mark of Divine Favour. He always carried a coffin with him in which he wanted to be buried, and at the end of each battle in which he took part, he shook off the dust which covered his clothes into this box, hoping that with this dust as his bedding, he would enter Paradise after his death.¹

The Christian provinces of Castille, Leon, Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia right up to the frontiers of Gascony and the Languedoc, were in turn laid waste by the arms of the Muslims and the might of Almanzor was felt in regions where the Islamic banner had never flown before. Even St. James of Campostella in Galicia, the holiest place of the Christians of Spain, had to bow down before

¹Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 266. [The author has misunderstood the passage. What Maqqarī says is that Manṣūr always kept Ḥanūṭ with him which is the scented powder which is generally rubbed on the body of dead Muslims. Moreover he also kept his shroud with him, in which his mortal remains were to be wrapped before being buried ; this shroud was woven by his own daughters and the material came out of the proceeds of his private estate. As a matter of fact, there was no coffin, while the dust from the various battlefields was collected in a small cloth-bag which the great statesman and general likewise carried. *Tr.*]

the might of the followers of Islam. The town was burnt down, and the conquerors carried with them the bells of the church of St. James to Cordova where they were utilized as lamps in the great mosque. In order to make his victory as impressive as possible, Almanzor ordered that these bells should be carried on the shoulders of Christian prisoners right up to the capital which lay at a distance of nearly two hundred leagues. We see later that when the Christians entered Cordova as conquerors they ordered their Muslim prisoners to carry these identical bells back to Galicia.¹

This would have been the lot of all the Christians of Spain if they had not put an end to their internecine feuds and if they had not been helped by their friends from the other side of the Pyrenees. The Kings of Leon and Navarre, the Count of Castille and other Christian chiefs swore to devote all their strength to furthering the common cause and abjure the spirit of discord ; priests and monks took up arms and claimed that they were the real leaders of the people ;² while an appeal was made to the warriors of Gascony, the Languedoc, Provence and other provinces of France. The result of all this propaganda was that a formidable Christian army gathered together on the border of Old Castille, while on his side Almanzor collected all the forces which he had at his command. In point of fact it was the determination of both sides either to win or fall. The armies

¹Maqqarī, Vol. I, pp. 270—272.

²Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. X, p. 21.

met in the vicinity of Soria near the sources of the Duero. The action was terrible and lasted the whole day ; blood flowed in torrents, for neither side wished to give way, though the Christians with their fully caparisoned horses and armed soldiers were in a better position to save themselves. Night came, and Almanzor, who was wounded in a number of places, retired to his tent with the idea of recommencing the battle the next day. He waited for his generals and Amīrs for a considerable time in order to formulate some programme of attack for the next day, and, when he demanded why they were not coming, he was told that the Amīrs as well as the generals had all been killed on the field of battle. He then knew that he had finally been defeated, and as he did not wish to live any longer he refused to be treated in any way and died a few days afterwards. His mortal remains were then shrouded in the dress he wore on the fateful day and he was duly buried in the coffin which he used to carry about for the purpose. His tomb may still be visited in the town of Medina-Celi.¹

¹While Almanzor was at the helm of state, he had not only conquered his enemies on the field of battle but also patronized learning and art and had a love for industry and agriculture. Never had the Muslims of Spain prospered to such an extent as during his term of office. This was the time when the ideas of chivalry were beginning to take shape, and with them a lofty sentiment of honour, respect for the fair sex and other sentiments which were in marked contrast with the ideas current among the Europeans. Nevertheless it is our duty to say that M. Viardot in his *Scènes de mœurs arabes en Espagne en dixième siècle*, has gone too far in saying that from the time of Almanzor the Muslims of Spain had progressed far in the principles of chivalry such as was developed later in Christian lands. M. Viardot ought to have given some evidence of the facts which he has put forward, specially such as have not been mentioned by contemporary chroniclers.

[Continued]

Almanzor died in 1002, and was succeeded by his son 'Abdul Malik as the head of the Cordovan government; but he also died in 1008, and with the father and son ended the glory of Muslim Spain. The country was rent by a civil war, governments followed each other in quick succession, the spirit of patriotism was considerably weakened and the Muslims of Spain began to tread their downward course.

With all these things happening round about them it was easy for the Christians of the northern provinces of Spain to go back to the land of their forefathers, but as a matter of fact they were themselves antagonistic to one another. There was no more unity between the inhabitants of Navarre and Galicia than between those two states and their natural enemies, the Muslims. Now it often happened during the civil wars among the Saracens that the Christians were called to help one side or the other, and they decided which party to side with according to the advantage which might accrue to them. It sometimes happened that the Christians

[Our author's version of Al-Manṣūr's death seems to be different to that given by Dozy (Eng. Tr. pp. 552 and 553) who says that he was successful in his last campaign as he had been victorious right through his life, but while on his way back home he was struck by disease and died before he reached Cordova. Dozy does not mention the "last defeat" described by Reinaud. Maqqarī (Vol. I, p. 186) has quoted the beautiful lines inscribed on Al-Manṣūr's tomb :

آثاره ننبیک من اخباره	حتى كانك بالعيان تراه
تا الله لا ياتي الزمان بمثله	ابد أولا يحى الثغور رسواه

" His remains tell thee of his great deeds
As if thy very eyes had met them :
In the name of the Almighty, the like of him would never be brought
by Time
Nor be produced by any clime." *Tr.*]

found themselves at daggers drawn with one another, and in these feuds even the bishops are known to have taken part. In 1009 a battle was fought between the Muslims themselves in the vicinity of Cordova, and the party supported by the Christians of Castille completely routed the other. The vanquished thereupon appealed to the Christians of Catalonia who responded to this request by advancing right up to the centre of Andalusia. In the battle which now ensued, there perished three bishops as well as Ermangaud, Count of Urgel, the same who had but a short time before filled the whole land with the din of his exploits.

Most of the Muslims looked upon these alliances with horror, and whenever a Christian fell into their hands in the course of a battle, they were ruthless in the manifestation of their feelings towards him. A French chronicler states how the Saracens cut off Ermangaud's head and how their leader had the skull filled with gold and never parted with it in all the subsequent wars in which he took part.¹

We shall end our narrative here. The Muslims of Spain were never again strong enough to invade France, while in France herself was beginning a new era which was to give her prosperity and glory for a very long time to come. In 987 the weakness of the unworthy scions of the royal House of Charlemagne was superseded by the vigorous race of the Capetians and on the other hand the Normans, who had embraced the Christian religion, had begun to prefer agriculture to brigandage and had settled down in the rich part of France to which they gave their

¹Collection

historiens de France, Vol. X, p. 148.

name, a policy which was pursued by the Huns on the banks of the Danube. Christian Europe soon became like one vast republic where human passions continued to play their inevitable rôle, but where little by little was evolved a code of conduct which was to make that continent the leader of the civilization of the world.¹

LATER ATTEMPTS

Nevertheless the coast of southern France as well as that of Italy continued to be overrun by Muslim seamen. In 1003 the Spanish Muslims made a descent on the neighbourhood of the Antibes and carried off with them, among others, a number of the clergy. In the same way, in 1019, some Muslims disembarked opposite Narbonne under cover of darkness ; hoping, according to the story of a contemporary chronicler, to capture it without much difficulty. They tried to force their entrance into the city, but the inhabitants, who were led by the clergy, fell upon them and cut them to pieces. Those of the invaders who were not killed were imprisoned and sold as common slaves, of whom twenty of colossal stature were sent to the abbey of St. Martial at Limoges. When they arrived at their destination, the abbot kept two for his personal service, while he distributed the rest among such strangers as happened to be

¹We see that ever since 950 the state of affairs has changed slightly for the better. It is certain that the need for mutual defence and the feeling for human dignity has enriched the spirit by a certain amount of energy. It is about this time that the mutual association of citizens and municipal franchises spring up in France and the adjoining lands, and we see the republics of Italy and the states of Marseilles and Arles for the first time in this period.

then at Limoges. The chronicler remarks that these prisoners did not speak the Saracenic (Arabic) language but spoke a dialect which seemed to them something like the barking of puppies!¹ In 1047 the island of Lérins, which had been under the Muslim domination three hundred years before, was again invaded, and a number of monks carried back to Spain. It was in order to free them from the yoke of the Muslims that Isarn, the abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, went personally to the peninsula.²

The raids by Muslim seamen were partly the result of the internecine wars which were then waged among the Spanish Muslims themselves. Some of the Muslims, now the conquerors, now the vanquished victims of their own unsuccessful attempts, took to the sea in order to try their luck on the Christian coasts. Among such adventurers the contemporary chroniclers name one Mujāhid who had made himself the master of Denia and the Balearic islands, and who, under the corrupted form of Mujet or Musectus, became the terror of the inhabitants of Corsica and Sardinia as well as of the coastline of Pisa and Genoa. The amount of booty captured by Mujāhid's soldiers was so great that they carried quivers made of gold or silver after the example of Alexander the Great. In a battle which took place between the Christians and the Muslims the Christians defeated their adversaries and sent a part of their booty to the abbey of Cluny in order to give religious sanction to

¹Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. X, p. 155.

²Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, Vol. IV, pp. 489 and 493.

their victory.¹

These incursions into France by sea continued up to the great development of the French navy and did not really come to an end till the occupation of Algiers by the French.² The coast of Provence and the Languedoc furnished the foreigners with convenient places of retreat whence they could carry their sword right into the heart of France. While ever since the days of Charles Martel the town of Maguelone had been covered by its own ruins, the port had often been visited by the Muslims, and was thereupon called Port Sarrazin. This state of affairs finally ended in 1040 when Bishop Arnaud had the town rebuilt and gave a new bearing to the port. We can also cite the case of Martigues, a town where some buildings are still to be seen which are considered to be Saracenic in style, while the case of Hyères is also to the point.³

From the middle of the eleventh century,

¹Cf. Conde, Vol. I, pp. 590, 591 and 595, as well as Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. X, pp. 52 and 156. The accounts of his exploits have been erroneously related by M. Mimaut in his *Histoire de Sardaigne*, Vol. I, pp. 93 ff. Moreover we can hardly conciliate certain details with what has been described in the writings of some Italian writers. See also *Storia di Sardegna*, by M. Manno, Turin, 1826. Vol. II, pp. 168 ff.

²[In 1830. Tr.]

³As regards Maguelone, see *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. XI, p. 454, as well as *Monumens de quelques anciens diocèse de Bas-Languedoc*, expliquees dans leur histoire et leur architecture, by Renouvier and Thomassy : Montpellier, 1836, in fol. As regards Martigues, see *Statistique du Département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, Vol. II, p. 475. M. Toulousan adds that the Muslim occupation in it is also mentioned in the archives of Fos and Berre. As regards Hyères, see the *Promenade pittoresque et Statistique dans le département du Var*, by M. Alphonse Denys, Toulon, 1834, in fol. This work, which is interspersed by lithographic illustrations, is bound to have the same value for the department of the Var what the delightful work of Baron Taylor, Cailleux, and Charles Nodiar have proved to be for Normandy, Auvergne, etc.

however, the invasions of the Muslims became less and less frequent every day. In 961 the island of Crete fell into the hands of the Greeks, while about the year 1050 the Saracens were driven out of southern Italy by a handful of Normans and lost their domination over Sicily for ever. The Christians of Sicily now took the offensive and invaded the northern coast of Africa where their flag was seen floating for a considerable length of time. Lastly, while on the one hand the Christians of northern Spain, in spite of their unfortunate antipathies, successfully invaded the towns of Toledo, Cordova, Seville, etc., on the other, innumerable armies of the Crusaders forced the Asiatic and African Muslims to confine themselves to their own lands.

The Muslims now lost all hope of re-entering France or conquering any part of south-eastern Europe. Already in 960 the Arab writer Ibn Hauqal calls the Muslims effeminate and light-hearted, while a writer of the twelfth century, Ibn Sa'id, likewise reproaches them and expresses a surprise that they have not so far been driven out of the peninsula.¹ We shall be able to form some idea of the condition of the Musalmans and the opinion they now held of Frenchmen with whom they had so long been at war, by one or two facts. Our Arab authorities tell us that when Mūsa, the conqueror of Spain, went back to Syria, the Khalifah hastened to call to his presence a man so illustrious and one who had undertaken such

¹Ibn Hauqal, *Kitābul-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, deGoeje ed., Leiden, 1873, p. 73.

wonderful campaigns. Among other things which Mūsa related to the monarch in reply to his queries, he described the Franks as a race full of vigour, courage and steadfastness.¹ Even if Mūsa had advanced right up to the interior of Languedoc, as is insisted on by Arab authorities, it is impossible that he should have described the condition of the Franks proper, for in those days it was not the Franks but the Goths who were the masters of the country. Nevertheless these words faithfully record the opinion which the Muslims of Spain held of the people, whether Goth or Frank, with whom they were brought into contact during their wars against Charles Martel or Charlemagne, and we can safely venture to say that it was religious enthusiasm and love of glory which made these races cross the Pyrenees in order to re-establish there the law of the Bible.

The other fact which contributes to the same conclusion is the description of a statue erected at Narbonne, as given by our Arab authorities. The statue had an arm lifted up, and there was inscribed on it the following sentence : 'O Children of Ishmael, do not go any further but retrace your steps, for otherwise you shall be driven out.'²

Some Muslim authors are of opinion that the French nation will not be allowed to enter Paradise,

¹See "*Treaty of war to be concluded with the non-Believers*," an Arabic book printed at Cairo, p. 232, Conde quotes the same sentence, and no doubt following some other Arabic author says that Mūsa further remarked that after their defeat the Franks became feeble and timid.

²Arabic MSS. of the National Library, *anc. fonds*, No. 596, fol. 37.

for God the Almighty had recompensed it in this world by the gift of rich lands and fertile tracts, which abound in chestnut, fig and pistachio trees and their delicious fruit.¹

¹Maqqarī, Vol. I, pp. 70, 71.

Chapter IV

CHARACTER OF THE MUSLIM OCCUPATION AND ITS RESULTS

IN this chapter we propose to deal with the invasions of the Muslims in a general way and to consider certain facts which we have not so far discussed. After this we will distinguish the various peoples who took part in these sanguinary struggles.

RACES OF THE INVADERS

As it was the Arabs who were the first to lead their armies into Europe and their chiefs who were the leaders and commanders of most of the expeditions which followed, it is natural that their race, which took the most prominent part in the annals of Muslim Spain, and which is dubbed Saracen by contemporary Christian writers, should be foremost in the minds of contemporary writers.

As the word Saracen was entirely unknown to the Arabs themselves, the question arises as to the origin of this mysterious word. It is really derived from the Latin *Saracenus* (Greek, *Sarakenos*), and appears for the first time in the writings of the authors of the first century of the Christian era.¹ It implied the nomadic inhabitants of Arabia Petraea and the country lying between the Euphrates and

¹See the note entitled *Effets de la religion de Mahomet*, by the Marquis de Fortia d'Urban, printed at the end of M. Oelsner's *Memoirs*, Paris, 1810.

the Tigris ; those tribes, filling, as they did, the gap between Syria and Persia, between the Romans and the Parthians, sometimes taking this side, sometimes the other, were important in turning the balance of victory in favour of the side which they took. Quite a goodly number of authors have attempted a solution of the origin of this epithet ; while no one has so far been able to prove his argument to the hilt, the majority of authors are in favour of tracing it to the Arabic *Sharqī* (*Oriental*), and as a matter of fact the nomadic Arabs of Mesopotamia and Arabia lived towards the east of the Roman empire. A Greek writer who travelled in Arabia in the sixth century of the Christian era describes the races inhabiting the region which he traversed, and says that there is a great difference between the Hamerite inhabitants of the Yemen and the Saracens proper.¹

¹Pococke, *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, pp. 33 ff., and Casiri, *Bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, Vol. II, pp. 13 and 19. We can trace the word *Saracen* to a different origin. We have seen that the word acquired currency towards the beginning of the Christian era ; on the other hand Ptolemy mentions a people named *Machurebe* which occupied the part of Africa now called Algeria. See Shaw, *Voyage*, p. 84, and the quotation at the end of the work, p. 23 ; also Pliny the Naturalist, Book V, No. 2. If we believe in the account of certain writers that a number of Arab tribes had settled in western Africa, it is possible to trace Ptolemy's *Machurebe* to the Arabic *Maghāribēh* (sing. *Maghribī*) meaning *Occidentals*, a word which is employed in the identical sense by the Arabs even now. It is even possible that the word *Sharqiyūn* or *Oriental*s was used by these colonists to signify the inhabitants of their mother-country. Then the question arises as to the difference between the Saracens and the Hamerites. Our illustrious contemporary, M. Letronne, informs us that according to the evidence of Strabo, Diodorus the Sicilian and other writers of antiquity, the part of Egypt between the Nile and the Red Sea was peopled by Arab tribes as it is today and was called Arabia. It is therefore possible that the tribes who remained in the peninsula were called *Oriental*s in order to distinguish them from those who had crossed the Red Sea. We might mention here that in modern Egypt the Delta is divided into the *Sharqīyah* towards

It is not necessary here to discuss the argument of the medieval Christians, who, relying on the opinion once held by St. Jerome,¹ derived the word *Saracen* from Abraham's wife, *Sarah*, for we need hardly mention that the Arabs had nothing in common with Sarah who was Isaac's mother. The Arabs are called Ishmaelites by the Christian authors of the Middle Ages, and their descent from Ishmael is admitted by the Arabs themselves, at least with regard to certain tribes especially the one to which the Prophet belonged, a fact which is once and again recognized by the Muslim authorities. But, as we have already mentioned, the Arabs do not think that Ishmael was the son of a slave-girl, or that Isaac was in any way superior to him in his station in life. In this connection we should also remember that according to Islamic ideas the son of a free woman and that of a slave are equal before the law provided only that the father is a free man and that he recognizes the children as his own offspring. Further the Muslim writers attribute to Ishmael all that is related in the Bible about Isaac.

Harping on the same tune, the Christian authors of the Middle Ages call the Arabs *Agareni* or descendants of Hagar. They think that there is something humiliating about this epithet as Hagar was according to them a slave and thus inferior to

the East and the *Gharbiyah* province towards the West. In the same way the Goths, after they had left their primitive homes, were divided into Ostrogoths or Oriental Goths, and the Visigoths or Occidental Goths.

¹See *The Glossary of Low Latin* by Ducange, under '*Saraceni*.' [Also *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 155. Tr.]

ordinary free women. Needless to say, this nomenclature is entirely unknown to the Arabs themselves.

Besides the Arabs, the people who took the most prominent part in these expeditions were the inhabitants of the African continent who are generally named Berbers. By this generic name is meant all those who lived on the slopes of the Atlas mountains and the neighbouring lands from the Egyptian oases to the Atlantic Ocean and from the Mediterranean to the country of the Blacks. This race is distinguished by its olive colour, straight nose and round face. They must have colonized northern Africa before the settlement of the Phœnicians at Carthage and even before the migration of the tribes at Canaan in the time of Joshua and David. They were never completely brought under foreign domination, and in their mountain recesses they have preserved their own nationality and their customs right up to the present day. The Greeks and the Romans dubbed them *Barbarians* which has probably been corrupted into the generic Berber,¹ while the Berbers call themselves *Amazyghs* or *Nobles* which seems to correspond with the *Mazyces* of the Greeks and the Romans.²

Not one of these communities was known to the medieval Christians, who mixed up the Berbers and the Africans in general and dubbed the Carthaginians and the Romans as well as the Vandals of Africa

¹Count Castiglione, *Mémoires géographiques sur la partie orientale de la Barbarie*, Milan, 1826, p. 84.

²*Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XII, M. St. Martin's *Mémoires*, pp. 190 ff.

Mauri or the Moors, *Afri* or Africans, *Poeni* or Carthaginians, and *Fusci* or Negroes.¹

Among the nations which took part in the invasion of France were to be found persons of Germanic or Slavic stock as well. We know that after the period of the great Migration of the Races in the fourth and the fifth centuries of the Christian era, the Slavs, who originally inhabited the land situated towards the north of the Black Sea and the Danube, advanced slowly towards the southern climes under the name of Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Moravians and Bohemians, occupied the lands which were later called Dalmatia, Serbia, Poland and Bohemia, and even a part of the territory of Greece. On their line of march they had to fight against the nations which came in their way, especially the Saxons, Huns, etc.; and in addition to this they came in conflict with Charles Martel, Pepin, Charlemagne and their successors, whose States were always open to the ravages of these barbarian peoples. As a matter of fact these terrible wars did not come to an end till the Germanic races, German or Slav, had finally embraced the Christian religion. We now know that it is a part of the public law of the Barbarians that it is right to treat prisoners of war as mere cattle and beasts of burden. Tacitus mentions how the races which inhabit modern Holland were in the habit of selling their prisoners of war, and these were found in the length and

¹We must remember that there were among the invaders many renegades and adventurers from all parts of the Greek Empire, who were called *Rūmī* by the Arabs, a word which is only a corrupted form of the word *Romani*, a name adopted by the unworthy successors of Scipio and Paulus Aemilus.

breadth of the Empire either as soldiers or as domestic slaves.¹ This inhuman custom spread into France and the neighbouring lands where the slave trade was publicly recognized as a regular profession, a state of affairs which continued right up to the time when the Germans, Slavs and other Barbarian nations of the north finally came within the fold of Christianity.²

The slave trade reached its climax after Syria, Africa, Egypt and Spain had fallen into the hands of the Muslims. We are told that slavery had existed among the Arabs for a long time and that it was the custom among them to make the slaves responsible for some of the most difficult occupations such as mechanical trades and agriculture ; but we must also remember that under Islamic law slavery lost most of its stigma, and a slave of recognized intellect and capacity or one favoured by fortune was put on an entirely equal footing with free men.

The custom of selling slaves of either sex to the Muslims existed very early. Merchants went to the coasts of Germany, the mouths of the Rhine, the Elbe and other rivers in order to buy slaves, and they were to be seen on the far off coasts of the Adriatic³ and the Black Sea, a fact which reminds us how in more recent times the people of Circassia

¹Life of Agricola, cap. 28.

²Cp. Alcuin's two letters in Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V. pp. 609 and 610 ; Ibn Hauqal, p. 75 ; Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 92 ; also d'Ohsson, *Peuples du Caucase*, Paris, 1828, p. 86, and M. Pardessus, *Lois Maritimes*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. lxxix and lxxx.

³As regards the descent of the Muslims on the Adriatic coast, see Constantine Prophyrogenitos, *De administratione Imperii* (in Banduri's *Imperium Orientale*, Vol. I, pp. 88 ff., and 131).

and Georgia gave their children to strangers in the markets of Constantinople in exchange for articles of which they might be in need. A large number of these unfortunates were brought to France either as prisoners of war during the struggles of the French with the northern races, or as chattels purchased by French speculators.

In common with other races of the south, the Arabs were also given to a spirit of jealousy, with the result that in order to employ slaves in the seraglios and harems of the grandees and princes, they began to castrate them while still young. This custom immediately gave birth to a new industry in France and a great factory was established at Verdun in Lorraine in the tenth century which turned out eunuchs who were sent to Spain and fetched fabulous prices.¹ The practice was greatly appreciated and castrated slaves were presented in the identical manner in which a horse or an ornament would be today. We read in a work by an Arab author how, in 966, in order to seek favour with the ruler of Cordova, the French lords of Catalonia made a present of twenty Slovene eunuchs to him.² The Arab authors consider that all the slaves, whether German or Slovene, were of the Slavic stock, and they called them by the name of *Ṣaqlabī*, whence

¹Cf. Luitprand, in Muratori's collection, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Vol. II. part I, p. 470 ; and Ibn Ḥauqal, p. 75. Also vide Desguignes, *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 485.

[It must be remembered, however, that castration is definitely forbidden under Islamic Law. See *Hidāyah*, Section on *Karāhiyāt*, chapter on *Miscellanea*. Tr.]

²Maqqarī, 1860, p. 249. Other presents consisted of twenty quintals of sable, five quintals of tin and armour.

probably the word "slave" is derived.¹ We read that a large part of the bodyguard of the Amīrs and Khalīfahs of Cordova was composed of these Ṣaqlabīs. Moreover, there were numerous Ṣaqlabīs mixed up with the Arabs of Sicily, especially of Palermo, where a special quarter of the town was named after them; and they were also found in Africa and Syria.² In all these places they were sometimes invested with extremely important functions. We must bear this in mind, otherwise many important passages in the Arab chronicles mentioning the name of the Ṣaqlabīs would remain entirely unintelligible to us.

LANGUAGES AND RELIGIONS

The Arabs and the Berbers not merely included an admixture of the pagans of northern Europe, but there were to be found among them persons born and bred in the very heart of Christendom, *i.e.*, France and Italy. What happened was that the Jews took advantage of the great hardships in which the various peoples lived, bought children of either sex, carried them to various ocean ports and thence in Venetian or Greek galleys on to the Islamic lands. The shameless traffic, forbidden by the ecclesiastical as by the civil authorities, was carried on in the very capital of the Christian world, and in 750 Pope Zachariah was forced to buy a large number of children of both sexes about

¹Charmoy, *Memoires sur les relations de Massoudi*, *Memoires de l'Academie de St. Petersbourg*, 1835, Vol. II, pp. 370 ff.

²Ibn Hauqal, pp. 84-85, and Charmoy, *op. cit.*

to be carried from Rome.¹ Later, in 778, Zachariah's successor in office set fire to a number of Greek vessels at Civita Vecchia which had arrived at that place to carry on this nefarious commerce.²

To those Christians who were bought as slaves and admitted to the Arab society, we must add those prisoners of war of all ages and ranks who fell in their power. We have already noticed that one of the principal objects of the invasion of the Arabs was the capture of prisoners of war, and at the end of every expedition the markets of the chief towns of Spain and Africa were full of saleable Christians. Prisoners of tender age who had been taken away from their parents were brought up as Muslims and were taught Arabic as their mother-tongue, and if they recanted, the magistrates had every power to punish them for their indiscretion. A large number of these men adopted the life of a soldier. We must here confess that no one forced grown-up Christians to renounce their faith and accept Islam, for the Qur'an has specifically enjoined that no violence is to be shown to any person simply on account of his or her religion.³

To these Christian converts we must add a number of the inhabitants of the lands occupied by the Muslims. When the Arabs and the Berbers entered

¹Anastasius the Librarian, in Muratori's great collection, Vol. III, part I, p. 164. [Zachariah, Pope, 741—752. He was succeeded by Stephen II, 752—757. *Tr.*]

²See Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V. p. 557. This trade was kept up right up to the thirteenth century, though it was carried on secretly. See Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, fourth edition, Vol. III, pp. 610 and 613.

³[Sūrah I, verse 256. *Tr.*]

Spain they were considerably helped by many native Christians as well as by the Jews who formed quite a respectable proportion of the population. As time went on, the Muslims found that the troops at their disposal were not sufficient in order to occupy the various strongholds of the country, and they were forced to garrison some of the towns with Jews. Moreover, during their incursions into France and into the heart of the neighbouring lands they were likewise helped by those who had neither any faith nor any country to call their own and who were ever ready to take advantage of public misfortune in order to aggrandize themselves. Thus we have already noticed the part which Mauronte, Duke of Marseilles, and other notable persons played in helping the Arabs in their march to success and conquest. When great men behaved in this manner, the less said about the smaller men, the better. We cannot but believe that, while the Muslims were settling down in Dauphine, Piedmont, Savoy and Switzerland, there were many among the natives of those countries who were in communication with them and who actually took part in their raids. True that the contemporary writers do not say so definitely but limit their remarks to complaints of cowardice, perfidy and irreligion on the part of some of the native Christians ; but if we do not actually believe in the alliance between the Muslims and some of the Christians, how else can we explain the great facility with which the foreigners conquered these rugged lands ; how could their groups, placed at a distance from one another, come into contact with each other specially when

inter-communication was so difficult? Although the invaders spoke a language utterly alien to the native dialects and professed distinct religious beliefs, they soon began to mix with the people of the country. We are aware of the instance of the chronicler of Novalesse Abbey¹ who describes how his uncle fell into the hands of the Musalmans, how a battle took place in the neighbourhood of Verceil, how the Muslims were victorious and entered the town in a peaceful manner along with their prisoners of war, and how their prisoners were exhibited to the inhabitants of the town who were given the liberty of examining them and of offering a price for any prisoner. The chronicler goes on to say that the relatives and friends of the unfortunate prisoners gathered together at the palace of the bishop and the houses of the notables of the locality. All this happened just as if in our own day a merchant were to arrive at a small town with saleable merchandise and people were to flock to see it in order to make purchases.

We will now examine the policy of the Jews of the south of France at the time when the Muslims invaded that beautiful part of western Europe. We read in the life of St. Theodard, bishop of Narbonne,² that when the Muslims first entered the Languedoc, the Jews immediately declared in their favour and opened the gates of Toulouse for them. The author of this work further says that on hearing of this act of treason, Charlemagne

¹See above, Chapter II.

²St. Theodard lived about 880, but his life was written much later. See Bollandiste collection, May 1.

ordered that every year on the occasion of the three important Christian festivals a Jew should be publicly slapped in front of the cathedral of Toulouse. Now there is no doubt but that a Jew was so slapped publicly three times a year¹; but it was not done owing to any previous treason on the part of the Jews, for the simple reason that the Arabs never entered Toulouse at all. It is quite possible that the author of the life of St. Theodard might have in his mind the entry of the Normans into the capital of the Languedoc in 850, an event which might have been brought about with the help given by the Jews to the invaders in the same way as was done previously in the case of Bordeaux.

When we pass on to the language of the invaders we see the same diversity, for it was only a portion of them who talked the Arabic language while the rest spoke Berber or some other dialect.² We read how not one of the Muslims who made an attempt to capture Narbonne, in 1019, spoke Arabic.

As regards religion, it was again only a portion of the invaders that professed Islam, so that we find among them not only pagans and Jews but Christians as well. We have already noticed that the band which invaded le Velay about the year 730 was probably composed of men who were idolators.³ We have little data about the religion of the Berbers,

¹It was later commuted to a sum of money which the Jewish community paid every year to the various churches of Toulouse.

²The Arab author Ibn al-Qūṭīyah mentions a body of Berber troops which talked the Berber language.

³See above, Chapter I.

a race which took a very prominent part in the conquest of Spain and France, and we know only that some of their tribes professed Christianity or Judaism, while there were others who worshipped fire, sand, stars, and others still who were given to pure idol-worship. The worship of fire and of stars dates back to remote antiquity among the peoples inhabiting the territories round the Atlas mountains; and the medals struck in the reign of Bacchus, King of Numidia, contain the same signs as those of certain monuments of ancient Persia.¹ We also remember the evidence of Sallust in this behalf, who, following the Phoenician authorities, says that in prehistoric times a body of adventurers, composed mainly of Medes and Persians, came and settled down in Africa.² Further the Arab authors themselves accuse some of the Berber tribes of worshipping fire and stars and of not adopting Islam as their religion,³ calling them Sabian, a word which was applied to the worshippers of the stars. Lastly pure idolatry was also not unknown to the tribes of the Atlas range. We read in the writings of a Latin author of the sixth century A.C. certain invaluable details of religious rites and ceremonies practised in Africa before the conquest of the country by the Arabs.⁴ It is really all these facts

¹*Description de medailles, antiques*, by Mionnet, Vol. VI, p. 597.

²*Nouveaux memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XII, pp. 181 ff.; Memoir of St. Martin.

³Cp. Extract from Ibn Khaldun, published in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Vol. II, p. 131, and Leo the African's *Relation*.

⁴Corippus, *Joannidos seu de bellis Libycus*, Mazzucchelli's edition, Milan, 1820, in 4to. Consult the Index under the words *Gurzil*, *Mastiman*, *Ammon*, *Apolin*, etc. See also the description of the pagan

which cause the Arab writers to mention the generic term *Majūs* in connection with the Berber tribes who had not bowed their heads before the Law of Islam, as well as to the pagans of the north, especially the Normans. It was, in fact, long after the conquest of Africa by the Muslims that the Berber tribes finally adopted Islam *en masse*.¹

The Christian authors of the Middle Ages include all the invaders in the vague epithet of 'pagans.' It was not because the cultured¹ among the Christians were ignorant of the patent truth that nothing was farther from polytheism and idolatry than Islam. Everyone is aware that the Muslims recognize only one God who is regarded as the creator of the earth and heaven, and they have such a great horror of pagan practices that (like the Jews) they are forbidden to make any representation of an animate being. This was, however, not true of a portion of the conquerors, while we must also remember that among the common people the respect for the founder of Islam had already degenerated into a kind of idolatry.² Lastly we know that in the Middle Ages the epithets 'pagan' and 'idolator' were used indiscriminately for those

rites in vogue in Africa after the Muslim conquest in the *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, Vol. XII, p. 639.

¹Cartas, *History of Africa*, translated from the Arabic into Portuguese by P. Santo Antonio Maura, with the name of *Historia dos suberanos mohametanos que reinarao na Mauretania*, Lisbon, 1828, p. 19.

²[The author here is entirely mistaken. Whatever faults may be found in the present-day Muslims, one thing is absolutely certain, and it is that the Prophet has always been regarded by one and all as simply the Messenger of the Almighty. The Qur'ān is clear on the point, for it says that "Muḥammad is but the Messenger of God—" Qur'ān, Chapter III, verse 134. Tr.]

who did not profess the Christian religion.

We read in the so-called Chronicle of Archbishop Turpin¹ that there stood in Spain on the seacoast a huge column with a bronze statue which was falsely said to have been manufactured [نعوذ بالله] by the Prophet himself, and to which the ignorant Muslims of the neighbourhood paid homage!² Philomène, in his romantic history of the conquest of Languedoc by Charlemagne,³ says that the Muslims of Narbonne erected the statue of the Prophet, red in colour, in a kind of chapel and regarded it as the surest guarantee of their authority. We also read, in the play of St. Nicholas, a kind of drama which was very popular during the Middle Ages,⁴ that the Muslim subjects of the Prince of Africa worshipped an idol named *Tergavant*, and covered its cheeks with beaten gold whenever they believed it to be the cause of some singular grace or favour. Lastly it is mentioned in the French poem on the adventures of Roland that the Saracens of Sarragosa had selected a grotto which they turned into a temple

¹*Turpin's Chronicle*, Ciampi's edition, p. 10.

²[This shows the terrible extent to which prejudiced ignorance of everything Islamic had pervaded the innermost mentality of the Medieval Christian. Fancy, the man, the quintessence of whose teaching consisted in the Unity of Godhead and whose whole life was spent in the attempts to eradicate idolatry, being credited with the construction of a bronze Statue! What profanity and what ignorance! One feels certain that the next piece of "information," that the local Muslims paid homage to it, must also have emanated from the fertile brain of some enemy of Islam. *Tr.*]

³*Turpin's Chronicle*, p. 78.

⁴Legrand d'Assy has given an extract of this piece in his *Fabliaux*, Vol. I, pp. 339 ff., while the whole of the drama has been published by M. Monmerque in the collection of the publications of the *Society of the Booklovers of France*, 1834.

for their gods and placed there statues of gold with crowns on their heads and sceptres in their hands, and whenever they wished to seek Divine aid they repaired to this grotto.¹

The word '*Tergavant*' which is sometimes changed into '*Termagant*,' and the name of '*Apolin*' and of other chimerical beings often come before us in the French romances and other old literary works,² and seem to refer in general to the supposed deities worshipped by the Musalmans. Such was the ignorance of the Europeans in this respect that it is mentioned in the *Jeu de St. Nicholas* that a statue of a saint which had the customary mitre on its head, was called '*the Horned Prophet*,' and the temples of the idols received the generic name of '*Mahomery*.' Such, verily, are the results of pure human imagination! What a contrast with the action of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, when he had subdued the richest parts of India about the year 1025, utterly refused to sell an idol in exchange for an equal weight in gold offered to him, and placed it on the sill of the great Mosque of his capital to be trampled upon by all those who entered the sacred precincts.³

What is then the origin of the grossly mistaken ideas of these writers? Some authors have ventured to say that the Normans and other idolatrous nations of the north were called '*Saracen*,' along

¹ Monin, *Dissertation sur le Roman de Roncevaux*, pp. 64 and 104.

² *Roman de la Violette*, published by M. Francisque Michel, pp. 73 and 332.

³ This is not the only instance of its kind. Vide our *Extraits des historiens arabes relatifs aux croisades* (Vol. IV of the *Bibliothèque des croisades*), p. 236.

with the Arabs, and it is in the northern climes that we must look for the origin of the words ' *Tergavent*, ' *Apolin*, ' etc.¹ But we must remember at the same time that the Berbers also practised certain rude ceremonies peculiar to the nations of the south, so that it may perhaps be possible to find their traces in Africa.

As a matter of fact this so-called respect for gods of wood, stone or metal, as described in the works we have quoted just now, always occupied a position only secondary to the actual advantages which were anticipated from the pretended veneration, for we find it mentioned that without a second thought they used to fall on these idols, throw them down and break them to pieces.

To sum up, among the conquering peoples the dominant race was that of the Arabs and the dominant religion, Islam. Neither the Berbers nor the Slovenes have left us any mementos of their hardihood, and if perchance some of them did not accept Islam as their faith, their children did. As a matter of fact whatever facts we learn about the conquerors are entirely from Arabic and Muslim sources.

MOTIVES

In the same way there was a great difference in the motives of the various elements composing the

¹ Antonio Panizzi's edition of Boyardo's *Roland l'Amoureux* and Ariosto's *Roland le Furieux* with a volume of introduction called *Essay on the romantic narrative poetry of the Italians*, London, 1830, p. 126.

conquering hordes. No doubt with some the chief motive was the love of wealth, inclination towards an adventurous career and love of pleasure ; but it is also true that the desire of at least some of the conquerors was the propagation of Islam and the hope of reaping the reward of such a meritorious act of piety in after-life. Thus it is prescribed in the Qur'ān : “ Go forth, light armed and heavy armed, and strive with your wealth and your lives in the way of Allāh ! That is best for you if ye but knew.”¹ Moreover it is said that “ Those whose feet are covered with dust in the Divine cause, they shall verily be kept from the fire of Hell by the Almighty.”

Those among the Muslims who were capable of carrying arms considered themselves in duty bound to devote their lives for the triumph of their faith, while such as could not do so hoped to reap the same advantages by the sacrifice of their property. The Qur'ān enjoins the Prophet to “make it known to those who collect gold and silver in their chests and refuse to use it for keeping the Faith on its proper pedestal, that they will receive the most terrible punishment.”²

It was an Islamic precept that every Muslim

¹Qur'ān surah IX, verse 41. [The next quotation is not from the Qur'ān at all but is taken from the Traditions as handed down from Nasā'ī, Tirmidhī and Bukhārī : “Not one of those whose feet have touched the dust in the Way of the Lord shall ever be harmed by the Fire of Hell.” Tr.]

²Qur'ān, surah IX, verse 34.

who died sword in hand was destined to enter Paradise, and we read in the Qur'ān : " Do not say that those who are killed in the Holy War are dead ; nay, they are really alive, and the Lord God nourishes them with His own Hands."¹ The Muslims give those who thus put their seal on their love for Islam by their own blood the name of *Shahīd* or *Martyr*—an idea which is very much analogous to the Christian belief of the martyrdom of those who die for the triumph of the religion of Christ.

Those of the Muslims who died sword in hand required neither ablution nor shroud, for their blood was taken to have freed them from all impurities, and no shroud was regarded as fitter for their wear than their own uniform. The Prophet has enjoined thus : 'Bury your martyrs in the condition in which they are killed, with their uniforms covering their bodies, their wounds adorning them and their blood washing away all that is impure, and do not give them a bath, for on the Day of Reckoning their wounds will smell like musk.'²

¹Qur'ān, sūrah II, verse 149.

²[Here the learned author probably has two traditions before him, one quoted by Ibn Hajar and the other by the Four Traditionists : as follows : (1) " It is handed down by Ibn 'Abbās that the Prophet looked at the martyrs of Uhud and ordered that their upper garments of hide and steel be removed and they be buried in their bloodstained clothes " ; (2) " Whoever is wounded in the way of the Lord, will have his wound on the Day of Judgment appear like saffron and smell like musk." *Tr.*]

The Law of Islam ordained that before beginning actual hostilities the commander-in-chief of the Muslim armies should enter into conversation with the leaders of the nation which was to be attacked, and should make a proposal that it should either adopt Islam or else pay a tribute to the Muslims.¹ It was, however, ordered that this proposal should be made in a very lenient spirit, for the Qur'ān enjoins the Believers to "invite them to the Way of the Lord with gentleness, prudence and exhortation at once sweet and persuasive."² It is thus probable that when the Muslims first crossed the French frontier they invited the inhabitants according to the precept of the Law, but when the natives did not pay any heed to it they had recourse to the sword.³

MILITARY DRESS

On the battlefield the early Muslim conquerors

¹According to the spirit of the Qur'ānic law, this alternative was to be proposed only to the Christians, the Jews and the Guebres, i.e., to those who claimed to be the followers of a revealed Book, and who were consequently called by the Muslims the People of the Book. For the idolators the only alternative was Islam or the sword. This doctrine was, however, never vigorously applied except in the Arabian peninsula, and we know definitely that a section of the Berbers remained idolatrous. The same policy of toleration was followed among the non-Muslims of India.

²Qur'ān, surah XVI, verse 125.

³Turpin's chronicle and the romances of chivalry, while describing the conflict between the Christians and the Muslims, often mention the challenge of the knights to one another and their invitation to adopt their religion. In all probability such challenges were not made until after the establishment of chivalry in Europe, and were the direct corollary of the principle that an enemy who has no opportunity of defending himself should in no wise be attacked.

had a sword hanging on one side, a club resting on the body of the horse, a spear with a flag attached to it in the hand, a bow on the shoulder and a turban covering the head. But all this changed as time went on, and the Musalmans began to copy the dress of the European warriors. They gradually gave up the use of the bow and club and adopted the buckler, the cuirass and the long spear which proved to be very useful for piercing purposes. Moreover, they developed the famous Bordeaux sword,¹ while their warriors gave up the use of the turban and began to wear a kind of Indian cap. There were with the twenty Slav eunuchs sent by the French lord of Catalonia to the Khalifah of Cordova ten Slav cuirasses and two hundred French swords, while the same Khalifah presented his Hājib or prime minister, who was himself of Slav descent, with one hundred French horsemen armed with sword, lance and cuirass and wearing Indian caps.² As a matter of fact most of the Muslims, great and small, preferred to wear their arms and their scarlet tunics, ride on saddles and carry their flags according to the fashion then in vogue among the Christians.³ We are, however, right in thinking that the Muslim warriors always kept up the lightness of their equipment which was their distinctive feature when the Muslims first made a

¹Maqqarī, Vol. I, p. 94.

²Ibid., p. 247.

³Ibid., p. 137.

rush on western Europe.¹

DIVISION OF THE SPOILS OF WAR

We have already noticed that a few of the invading soldiers were led on by greed for booty and, as a matter of fact, for many years afterwards this was the only recompense for their material expenses and bodily fatigue. The irregular warrior, who fought by himself, was the sole master of all that fell in his hands, while the regular had to be content with the share allotted to him by his commander, for the booty was regarded as the common property of the Muslims and consequently divided on the termination of a campaign. This comprised precious metals either in the form of coin or bullion, precious stones, utensils of all kinds, beasts of burden and prisoners of both sexes, young and old. Of all these the prisoners were valued the most, owing to the great facility with which they were taken home for the purpose of being sold in the slave market for domestic service, and their worth was measured by their age, sex, physical force and personal looks.

The commander began by reserving the fifth of the booty as the share of God which was sent to the Khalifah for disposal according to his wishes,

¹[There are panels in the Alhambra at Granada which well illustrate the dress in vogue during the later days of Muslim rule in Spain. They depict various phases of Muslim life at Granada. See my article on "A New Geography of Muslim Spain" in "Islamic Culture," 1929, p. 298. Also see Calvert, *Granada*, plates 115—119; Walī Muḥammad, *Ṣafarnāmah. Andalus*, plate opposite p. 222. Tr.]

and we know that the sovereign generally spent a part of such income on the poor and on other works of public utility¹; the rest was divided up among the soldiers in such a way that a cavalryman received double the share of an infantryman.²

When the booty had been finally divided, those who did not like to keep their share either exchanged it with someone else or sold it in a kind of market set up within the precincts of the camp itself. Thus in the train of the conquering army were also found merchants and speculators through whom the articles captured were sent to the most distant parts of the Empire.

Here it is necessary to say something of the French Christians of both sexes who fell into the hands of the invader, and the reader must be reminded at the outset not to confuse these captives with prisoners of war of the present day.

When a Christian was captured his hands were immediately tied back ; he was then called *Asīr*,³ an Arabic word which means *bound*, and which is synonymous to the Latin ' *vinctus*,' a word used by the Romans for a captive. After the booty had finally been partitioned as above, the person into whose hands a Christian had fallen became his master, and thus was free to employ him in his

¹Qur'ān, sūrah VIII, verse 42.

²Roland, *Dissertationes miscellaneae*, Vol. III, p. 49 ; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableaux de l'Empire ottoman*, Vol. V, p. 80 ; and Conde, *Historia*, Eng. Tr., Vol. I, p. 463.

³أسير.

service, sell him, beat him or even kill him. The Christian who thus became a slave was called *Mamlūk*¹ or *owned*, for he was no longer master of his own self. He was also called *Riq* or *puny*, for his faculties were supposed to be very much restrained as he could not own any land, and whatever he earned went to his master. He descended to the heirs of his master in the same way as a field or a house would, while his children also followed his status and became slaves like him.

Sometimes the master, especially when he was enthusiastic for the propagation of his own faith, asked his slave to change his religion. If the Christian consented, he was ordinarily set free, and even when he was not set free he did not lose hope, for it was just possible that another Muslim might pay his price to his master and emancipate him. The Prophet has enjoined that "The Muslim who sets free one like him frees himself from the torments of the life to follow and from Everlasting Fire."² Once free, the newly converted person was no more required to dance attendance on his master, but was, on the other hand, admitted to the very bosom of Muslim society and could rise to the greatest height in the service of the State exactly like the most favoured ones among the subjects of the Khalifah. He was

¹The word is used for the medieval Slave-Kings of Egypt.

²[Bukhārī, Muslim and Tirmidhī agree that the Prophet said that whoever freed a bondsman will have all the organs of his body freed from the torments of hell fire. *Tr.*]

thenceforth called the 'Maula'¹ a word which means one under somebody's protection, and which expresses in the most touching manner the relationship and the reciprocal duties of the patron and the person whom he set free.²

If, however, the slave did not consent to become a Muslim, he was sometimes put to all kinds of inconveniences by his master, and if he still persisted the master sometimes put irons on his feet, and sometimes he was ordered to till the land for him or do any other mechanical work, which might be profitable to his master.

We have already noticed that the Christian captives—Muslim converts as well as those who remained faithful to the word of the Bible—were distinguished for their hardihood and were prominent in all the expeditions led by the Muslims. They were found in the Muslim troops on the field of battle, in the bodyguard of the Amīrs and Khalifahs of Cordova and among the followers of the grandees of Spain. We have already mentioned the case of the Hājib of Cordova to whom Hākam II made a present of one hundred French *Mamlūks* armed from head to foot, and of the Christian prisoners, castrated or otherwise, who were em-

١. مولیٰ .

²Sometimes a slave was only 'qualified,' that is to say that he was given the authority to possess property. He could then follow any profession he liked, and whatever he earned became his own. He had, however, to pay a sum of money to his former master in case he demanded it.

ployed in the royal household and in the mansions of the Muslim nobles.

Such slaves as remained faithful to the old religion also did not give up hopes of regaining their liberty. It was the rule among princes and rich persons, whenever there was any event which particularly pleased them, to offer their thanks to the Almighty by freeing slaves, for they thought that this was the best way of pleasing the Creator. Thus when, in 997, the famous Almanzor heard that some Cordovan troops had met with great success in Africa, he broke the irons of eighteen hundred Christians of both sexes and set them free as a thankoffering to God.¹

It was only natural that the relatives, friends and sympathizers of the Christian prisoners should be interested in their welfare, and every year there were men who left France with gold and silver for Spain and Africa in order to ransom their fathers, brothers and friends back to their hearth and home. Quite often the Muslim prince himself intervened in the negotiations and sometimes even paid a part of the price from his own pocket. Later on the spirit of charity gave birth to those fraternities and brotherhoods which subsisted right up to the Revolutionary epoch, and the main object of which was the redemption of slaves. It was regarded as the greatest mark of heroism to leave all one held dear

¹Conde, Vol. II, p. 33 [which mentions that only 800 slaves were set free. *Tr.*]

in order to help one's brethren in distress. History has preserved the memory of Isarn, Abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, who went to Spain in 1047 to ransom back some Christians who had been captured by Muslim seamen off the coast of Provence. As Isarn was very ill his monks would not let him go, but they struggled in vain and he duly started on his errand. He was very much fatigued by the troublesome journey and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could discover the place where the captives were kept. Misfortune followed misfortune, for, when the Christians had at last been liberated and put on the sea *en route* for their motherland, there appeared a number of Muslim craft on the horizon, who, coming near, recaptured them. Then more solicitations and further pourparlers. So great were the difficulties which Isarn had to surmount that on his way back home with these captives he finally succumbed to his troubles and breathed his last at Marseilles.¹

The fair sex was affected by these forced migrations to a greater degree than the male population. Woman is by nature weaker than man, and is therefore prone to live a retired life to a greater extent than man, so that sometimes she was left entirely unsupported by her relatives and friends. We come across European women employed as chamber-

¹*Annales Benedictini*, Vol. IV, pp. 489 and 493. Isarn's tomb is still to be seen at Marseilles; Millin, *Voyage dans le midi de la France*, Vol. III, pp. 181 ff.

maids in the seraglios of the Muslim grandees, while those whose pretty looks or accomplishments in aesthetic arts, such as dancing, music and needlework, ranked them above their less fortunate sisters were bought by ladies of culture who gave them proper education and then resold them at a high price. This was the gift which was greatly valued by the Muslim Khalifah himself, and these highly cultured slaves as well as those female prisoners of war who originally belonged to high society sometimes shared their bed with their august masters. Who, for instance, knows that Lampégie, daughter of Duke Eudes of Aquitaine did not share the same fate as so many other noble ladies of France?

The young female prisoners of war were generally at the mercy of those into whose hands they fell, and they often ended their days by becoming their associates in life. We have already mentioned that the law of Islam takes no count of the condition of the woman's birth, and, as truly befits a legal system which was perhaps originally meant for hot climes, it allows a man not only to marry four wives but also to cohabit with the slave-girls whom he may purchase. As a matter of fact it is very seldom that a man marries four wives at the same time, for even in countries where woman was regarded as an inferior being, he would have no peace of mind with more than one wife. In some countries, however, it was a general custom to own a number of slave-girls, and most men were wont

to have such girls as the sharers of their hearth and home.

If the master allowed a slave-girl to occupy the position of his wife, she became *ipso facto* free and her children were considered to have been born free as well, while both were taken to belong to the highest social condition. Although, however, the mother became free by the very fact of the sexual intercourse, she remained under her master's authority during the whole of her life, while after her death she received the fullest rights of liberty and was thenceforward called *Umm Walad* or 'child's mother.' The Khalifahs of Damascus, Baghdād and Cordova had a number of these 'children's mothers' in their seraglios, while all the children of Hārūn al-Rashīd were born of his slave-wives.¹ But if a child was not recognized by its mother's master as his issue, he was dubbed a bastard and ever remained a slave along with his mother.

To give the reader some idea of the curious fortune which was reserved for the Christians of both sexes, we should like to recount three sets of facts. A soldier from the neighbourhood of Toulouse, named Raymond, embarked on a sea-voyage to the Christian holy places. On his way to the East, however, his boat was captured by a Muslim who made him a farm labourer. Raymond, who was not used to that kind of work,

¹[All except Amīn. Tr.]

told his master that he was brought up as a soldier and was not used to farm labour at all. When the Muslims heard this, they immediately admitted him to the fighting forces of the country, where he soon distinguished himself in the art of war in the numerous conflicts which took place between various sections of the population. It should be noted here that although he had to change sides sometimes, he always served his masters, whoever they might be, faithfully. At last he was brought to Spain, and took part in a pitched fight near Cordova along with a number of other Christians in 1009 A.C., where, after fifteen years of a life so full of adventure, he was captured and set free by Count Sancho of Castille.¹ The second case in point is that of a young Christian girl who was captured by the Muslims who taught her the arts of dancing, singing and music. She was taken to Arabia where she is said to have charmed the audiences of Madīnah and other oriental towns by her graceful accomplishments, while on her return to Cordova she was admitted to the royal palace as the favourite wife of the Khalīfah himself. The third story is that of some Christians who were employed in the palace at Cordova and who suffered the death of martyrdom at the hands of the Muslims.

The condition of the Saracens who fell into the hands of the French was very similar to that of the

¹ Bollandiste collection. October 6, p. 327 ; also above. towards the end of chapter II of this book.

Christians who fell into the hands of the Muslims.¹ We have already noticed that slavery was allowed in France in the case of the Germans, Slavs and other idolators, and the same was true of the Muslims who were taken prisoners by the French. The main difference between the French and the Saracenic captivity was that in France there had always been a line of demarcation between persons born slaves, or treated as slaves, and freemen ; while French law also differentiated between the lot of the bourgeois of essentially simple habits and those who were born in gentle society.

Some of the Muslim prisoners were bought back by their relatives and friends, others by the Muslim government, while others still, by means of legal endowments made for the purpose by their pious co-religionists. While associations for the redemption of slaves were being formed in France, kindred societies were also in process of foundation among the Spanish Muslims. It is said that when someone asked the Prophet what the best way of attaining salvation was, he pointed to the freeing of slaves from the chains of their masters.² An Arab author, however, says that from the time of Charlemagne right upto the reign of Hishām the arms of the Muslims were so continuously successful in the field of battle that it was not at all necessary

¹[As a matter of fact, as will be seen later, the lot of the Muslim prisoners was actually much worse. *Tr*].

²[" Whichever Muslim frees a Muslim slave saves himself from the torments of Hell,"—Tirmidhī. *Tr*.]

to utilize the money left for the purpose.¹

Those of the Muslim prisoners who were to be resold were taken to Arles, Marseilles and Narbonne whither also came their co-religionists from the southern countries in order to take part in the transactions. Sometimes the warriors of Islam raided the coasts of France and recaptured their less fortunate friends and relatives,² while it also happened sometimes that there were some among the Christian princes who wished to placate the Muslim chiefs by making them a present of such prisoners.

The Muslims who were not ransomed were made slaves in the same way as the Jews and the pagans. They were bound to serve their masters, and these serfs, who were ordinarily attached to the seignorial farms, formed a large part of the population of the towns and villages of Christian Europe. They could neither own nor give away anything of their free will, while their masters could sell them, beat them and even put them to torture. Most of them were chained, so that it was not possible for them to get away and thus better their lot. It was really fortunate that, in the absence of any charitable feeling, mere selfish interests of the seigneurs sometimes came to the rescue of this suffering humanity, for their masters were afraid of maltreating them too much for fear that they might become desperate and somehow

¹Cp Roderic Ximenès, p. 18, and Nuwairī.

²See above, end of chapter II.

or other take to flight or fall into the hands of the opposing chiefs during one of the many internecine feuds which were then going on in Christian Europe.

No Jewish, pagan or Muslim serf was allowed to have intercourse with even such Christian women as had been reduced to slavery themselves, and those among the latter who were weak enough to submit to the former were deprived of a proper Christian burial on their death. For a long time not even serfs of the same religion were allowed to intermarry, and whatever carnal intercourse they had among themselves was by the permission of their master, so that the issue of the relationship, if any, became his private property *ipso facto*.

Slavery seems to have disappeared generally in Europe about the twelfth century, but there were still countries where non-Christian, especially Muslim, slaves could be met with for a long time, a fact which is evidenced by a number of instances which strike one on reading the contemporary histories of the period.¹

Serfdom, however, continued for a very long time afterwards, and declined only when the manners of the people became more polished and a phase of evangelical spirit, which considers all men to be brothers, became further developed. Then, on certain occasions, chiefly at the time of some happy event, the pious among the people con-

¹Much evidence on the point will be found in M. Pardessus' book entitled *Anciennes lois maritimes*, cap. XXXVII.

sidered it their duty to set the serfs free, and the custom gradually arose whereby those serfs who submitted to baptism were regarded as being enfranchised, thus becoming part and parcel of the Christian population.

The number both of Saracen slaves and serfs no doubt increased either on account of the Crusades in the East or owing to the struggle of the Frenchmen and the Muslims of Spain as well as of other countries on the shores of the Mediterranean, or else by sheer slave trade.¹ In any case they were certainly found in France for a very long time; for instance, in 1149 Arnaud, bishop of Narbonne, transferred the Muslim serfs of his estate to the bishop of Béziers,² and about the year 1250 Romeo of Villeneuve, minister of the counts of Provence, directed in his will that the Muslims of both sexes who were employed on his domains should be sold.³ A couple of centuries later we read of king René actually transacting the purchase of three Moorish serfs.⁴

The following few facts may be mentioned here in order to describe the lot of the unfortunate Muslims who were not bought back by their brethren in religion. An article of the council of Tarragona, held in 1239, and a statute of the bishop of Béziers, dated 1368, decreed that the Muslims as well as the Jews of both sexes should put on a dress of special

¹For an elucidation of this point, see M. Pardessus' work, *op. cit.*

²*Gallia Christiana*, Vol. VI, instrum. col. 39.

³Bouche, *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. II, p. 257.

⁴Fauris de St. Vincens, *Mémoires sur la Provence*; Aix, Ponties, 1817, p. 63.

colour and cut.¹

The intercourse between the Saracens of the two sexes which was carried on in certain localities was not regarded with favour by their masters, so that the monks of the order of Cîteaux passed a decree forbidding Muslim men and women to gather together under the same roof. There were, again, some religious houses where no Saracen serf was allowed to work at all.²

We have noticed that the Saracens who were willing to be baptized were *ipso facto* set free, but it sometimes happened that the consent to become Christian was merely a ruse, and, once set free, the serf returned to his former beliefs. The result was that the masters derogated to themselves an authority to test the beliefs of their would-be Christian serfs.³ There was, however, many a Christian who valued the services of his dependent more than his religion and troubled to his utmost those of his serfs who had any intention of changing their religion to Christianity.⁴ There were again those who after the conversion of their serfs kept them under their control against the law of the land and still treated them very harshly. We have a letter from Pope Clement IV addressed to king Thibaud of Navarre in 1266, in which the Pontiff strongly protests against the act of the abbot of St. Benoist de Mirande who had tortured a converted Saracen

¹ Martenne, *Amplissima collectio*, Vol. VIII, p. 132; *Thesaurus anecdotorum*, Vol. VI, p. 657.

² *Thesaurus anecdotorum*, Vol. VI, p. 1246.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 290.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1247 & 1250.

under the pretext that his conversion was not sincere, and had deprived the children of this unfortunate man of all his property by confiscating it.¹

Besides Saracen serfs, we come across in France Muslim business men as well who were engaged in financial transactions like the Jews. Thus it came to pass that wherever there was an anti-Jewish excitement in the country the Muslims had to suffer the wrath of the Christians just as much as the Jews themselves.²

Like the Muslim serfs, these Muslim business men were barred from marrying Christian women or employing them as wet nurses; and if there were Christian women who served them in this capacity or cohabited with them they were deprived of a Christian burial after their death. Like the Christians they paid a tenth of their income to the State, and were, moreover, compelled to observe Christian festivals during which they were not allowed to transact any business.³ There is not even one of this most oppressed class left in France today.

There is thus no doubt that there were in France a number of Saracens who had become Christians, but of course this was the natural result of existing circumstances. There were, however, many more French Christians who became Muslim. The first rush of the Muslims on France and the detestable

¹*Thesaurus anecdotorum*, Vol. II, p. 360. [Clement IV, Pope, 1265–1269. *Tr.*]

²*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 904.

³*Amplissima collectio*, Vol. VII, p. 132; *Thesaurus anecdotorum*, Vol. IV, pp. 657 and 736.

commerce of Christian boys and girls, which was then in vogue in Europe, must have meant the migration of innumerable children of both sexes to the lands of the Muslims. Moreover, we must remember the extreme facility with which a Christian could become a follower of the Prophet of Islam, and the welcome which awaited such conversions, coupled with all the advantages which always accrued to renegades and those of an adventurous turn of mind, must have multiplied the conversions to Islam.

We now turn to the treatment meted out by the Muslims to the conquered peoples after their settlement in France, as well as to their administrative system both civil, financial and religious. We will not deal in this place with the inrush of the main Saracenic army which was accompanied by violence and excesses of all kinds, so that for the present we will leave out of account not only the earliest invasions of the south of France but also the long Muslim occupation of Provence, Dauphiné, Piedmont, Savoy and Switzerland. As a matter of fact, if we mention certain fortified positions we shall notice that this occupation was always of an uncertain nature, and in none of those parts did the Muslims occupy the whole district. While certain groups among them made themselves masters of the mountain passes and the rivers of the land and extracted money from the travellers in those regions, the more peaceful cultivated fertile tracts and sometimes even consented to pay rent to the rightful owners of the country. In the parts of Provence

round the stronghold of Fraxinet, however, the Muslims carried on a policy of total destruction. We cannot do better than compare the Saracenic bands of this period with the army of freebooters which ransacked the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples in the thirties of the eighteenth century.

ADMINISTRATION & TAXES

Here we should like to make a few observations as regards the system of government set up by the Muslims in the Languedoc when they were the peaceful rulers of that province of France between 724 and 758. As a matter of fact we have little information bearing on this troublous epoch but we know that after the internecine feuds which sprang up among the victors immediately after their conquest of the country, *i.e.*, from the year 737, the Christian Goths of Languedoc had regained part of their autonomy and were allowed to have their own Counts, Provosts and national law.¹ On the other hand, a contemporary writer, Isidore of Beja, tells us (under 734) that 'Uqbah, Governor of Spain, always allowed each conquered nation complete freedom to have its own laws, and there is an order dating back to the same period given by a Muslim

¹The only difference was that the Counts were deprived of all military jurisdiction. What happened in the Languedoc and other Christian countries under the Muslim rule was only a repetition of the usual practice after the fall of the Roman Empire. When the Goths, the Vandals and the Franks invaded the Roman Empire, the conquered peoples retained their own Counts and Provosts, and when the Goths and Vandals were in turn subjugated by other races, they also claimed the same privileges. See M. de Sismondi, *Histoire de la chute de l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1835, Vol. I.

governor of Coimbra which shows that the Christians of Portugal were subject to a similar system of administration. The following is an extract from this order :

“ The Christians of Coimbra shall have the liberty to be governed by their own count who will rule over them in a proper manner according to their ancient customs. He will put an end to all their differences but shall not be able to put any one to death without the previous consent of the Muslim magistrate ; in the case of capital offences he will try the accused before the said magistrate, read out the Christian law on the point before the court, and shall order the accused to pay the penalty of death only if the Muslim magistrate wills it. Small towns will have their own judges who will govern them equitably and will try to prevent quarrels. If a Christian commits an offence against a Muslim, the magistrate shall apply the Muslim law ; if a Christian attempts to outrage the modesty of an unmarried Muslim girl, he will have to embrace Islam and marry the girl, otherwise he shall pay the highest penalty of the law, but if the girl is married he shall in any case be put to death.”¹

These remarks well demonstrate the system of

¹The Coimbra ordinance was preserved in the Lorban Abbey and has been copied in the *Monarchia Lusytana*, Lisbon, 1609, in 4to., part II, pp. 283, 287, etc. As this ordinance is very interesting linguistically, M. Raynouard has also published it in his *Poésies originales des Troubadours*, Paris, 1816, Vol. I, p. 11, and has added to it some remarkable observations.

government in vogue in Muslim Languedoc and elsewhere.

When we pass from political to religious administration we at once begin to labour under a lack of positive information on the subject. We can, however, build up a set of logical conclusions arrived at after proper inferences from the policy of the Musalmans in other lands.

The mass of the population of Narbonne and the neighbouring towns remained Christian, and their number must have been very large indeed, for in later years they were able to force the Muslim army of occupation out of their town. As a matter of fact, the Muslims always respected the religion of the natives, and had left their chapels and churches in the charge of proper Christian clergy.

This, however, seemed to be the limit of the concessions accorded to the Christians. It would be a mistake to think that the Muslims treated Narbonne and other frontier towns in the same way as they had treated Cordova and other cities in the centre of the empire. They may have destroyed a few churches at Cordova and deprived others of their secular possessions, but it is a fact that they left most of the churches under the immediate authority of the Christian bishops or higher clergy. Moreover, both monasteries and nunneries were left intact and were regularly attached to their respective places of worship. Further, they allowed the European Christians the

privilege of ringing the church-bells.¹

Nothing like this existed in Narbonne or the surrounding cities, where there were neither bishops nor convents. We must, however, remember in this connection that the confusion in most of the churches of southern France was not the result of the Muslim occupation of those provinces, but had existed in fact for nearly fifty years and was mentioned by St. Boniface, bishop of Mayence to Pope Zachariah in 742.² As a matter of fact it was the direct result of civil war among the successors of Clovis for the mastery of the throne. But at the same time it should be mentioned that this state of utter confusion was not met with in the northern provinces of Spain till the influx of the Saracens and did not finally end till their final departure from the land.³

We read in the anonymous life of Louis the Gentle⁴ that when the Frenchmen drove the Muslims out of Barcelona in 801, Louis immediately went to the Church of the Holy Cross to offer his thanks to the Almighty for such an important achievement. This church is today the cathedral

¹*Indiculus Luminosus* (a work originally written about 852) in *España Sagrada*, Vol. XI, p. 229.

²*Historiens de France*, Vol. IV, p. 94.

³When the Muslims arrived at Jaca in Aragon about the year 712, the bishop of the place retired to the Pyrenees. This town remained without a bishop till three hundred years afterwards, and did not come back till the Muslims had finally evacuated the country in 1096. See *Teatro historico de las iglesias del reyno de Aragon*, Pampeluna, 1792, in 4to, Vol. V, pp. 102, 130, 233, 376.

⁴Dom Bouquet's *Historiens de France*, Vol. VI, p. 92.

of the town, and the writer de Marca has concluded from the above passage that the Christians of Barcelona had kept their most important religious edifice, their bishop and clergy, unmolested right through the domination of the Muslims. But in the corresponding passage of Ermoldus Nigellus (a work which has already been quoted), which was not published till a long time after Marca's death, it is mentioned that the church was duly purified before Louis set his foot on it, so that we are justified in concluding that it must have been converted into a mosque by the Muslims, or, according to the profane words of the poet, 'it must have been converted into a place for the cult of the demon !'¹

It is the opinion of the author of the present work that the Muslims aimed at removing the bishops and clergy from their posts in the frontier towns and restraining their communications with the outside world as much as possible. This surmise is further evidenced by the great importance which Charlemagne attached to such a relationship and by his special care to bring it about.

We can argue from the Spanish analogy, and with certain reservations judge the relations which must have existed between the Christians of France and their Muslim overlords.

The exact number of the churches where the Christians were allowed to offer their prayers was determined at the time of the conquest and any

¹Poem of Ermoldus Nigellus, verse No. 533, reads thus : *Mundaviteque locos, ubi daemonis alma colebant.* Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, p. 23.

addition to that number was entirely forbidden. The Prophet himself is reported to have said : " Do not allow the infidels to construct new synagogues, churches and temples, but allow them to repair the old edifices and even to rebuild them so long as they are not built on a new piece of land."¹

No Christian was allowed to take part in public processions and the sacred rites were permitted to be performed only within closed doors. Moreover, if a Christian wished to become a Muslim, no one was permitted to place any obstacle in his way.²

We have already noticed that the Christians of Andalusian towns in general and of Cordova in particular were generally treated well, while on the other side they had a certain regard for the feelings of the Muslims, so that they circumcised their children and abstained from pork.³ Nevertheless, if we believe the testimony of a Christian of Cordova who, however, wrote in 850, *i.e.*, during

¹Some legists conclude that in rebuilding a church the same earth, stones and materials should be used; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableaux de l'Empire ottoman*, Vol. V, pp. 109 and 112. [We have failed to find any tradition of the Prophet to this effect which can be said to be undoubtedly correct. There are certain passages in Baiḥāqī, *Sunan*, Vol. IX, (Hyderabad, 1356 H., p. 201) where a saying of 'Abdullah, b. 'Abbās is quoted that no new churches should be built in new Muslim colonies, but that is, of course, off the point. There is nothing about the permission or otherwise for the building of churches either in the Qur'ān or in the Apostolic Traditions. *Tr.*]

²The order about the Christians of Coimbra, moreover, informs us that every Portuguese church contributed to the public treasury a sum of twenty-five silver pieces, every monastery fifty silver pieces and every cathedral one hundred silver pieces.

³See above, chapter III.

the period of persecutions,¹ a sense of intense hate existed between the followers of the two religions, especially with regard to the outward practices of Christianity. This writer says: "None of us dare speak out his beliefs openly. Whenever any sacred duty compels the clergy to appear in public, the Muslims ridicule them the moment they see the clergymen in their ecclesiastical robes and not content with insulting them they throw stones at them. Moreover they begin to curse the Christian religion whenever they hear the bells of a church steeple."² Lastly we know that a number of Muslims thought that they became impure if a Christian were to approach them.

On the other hand, according to the evidence of St. Eulogius, who was himself prosecuted in 850,³ whenever a muazzin called the Muslims to prayers from the minaret of a mosque, they thought that they heard the voice of the Antichrist himself and immediately made the sign of the cross.

As regards the taxes levied by the Muslims, we have already noticed that the governor Al-Samh was the first who, in 720, put the financial system of the newly acquired regions in order and extended his system from Spain to the Languedoc, where there had been the greatest possible confusion both

¹[That is to say, when the Christians of Spain were mad after the martyr's death and left no stone unturned to try to blaspheme the Prophet of Islam. Tr.]

²Alvare *Indiculus aluminosus*, in the collection already cited.

³*Apologie pour les martyrs*, in the collection named *Hispania illustrata*, by Andre Schott, Frankfurt, 1608, Vol. IV, p. 313.

in the matter of taxes and the pay of the soldiers.¹ Al-Samḥ distributed the confiscated lands among the poor soldiers, while the land which was left over was let on rent which went to the public treasury.

The property which was distributed among the victors was taxed at the tenth part of the produce, while what was left in the possession of the Christians paid a fifth, *i.e.*, exactly double the first category.² In order to conciliate the Christians it was at first decided that those who submitted to the Muslims voluntarily would be treated like the Muslims themselves in the matter of taxation, but this privilege was not maintained.

Apart from the 20 per cent tribute, which must have struck the Christians hard, they had further to pay a kind of capitation tax or personal impost the amount of which varied with the status of the individual concerned. This was levied on all adult Christian males who had some fixed income either from landed property or else from their own industry. This was called *Jiziah* or *compensation tax*,³

¹See above, Chapter I.

²The order about the Christians of Coimbra also reads that the Christians paid double the proportion levied on the Musalmans. [Here the learned author forgets that Muslims had to pay Zakāt and Ṣadaqah as well. *Tr.*]

³[The *Jiziah* was levied in lieu of military service from which the non-Muslims were exempted. As it was essentially a military tax, such persons as women, children, the unfit and the old were not required to pay it. It is a gross mistake to call it a "capitation tax." There is a difference of opinion between various schools of Muslim law whether the clergy should be totally exempted from the *Jiziah*. The Ḥanafī opinion is that only such monks should be exempted who have no connection with wordly affairs, while the Ḥanbalī doctrine is that all churchmen should be exempted. See Ibn 'Abidīn, *Raddu'l-Mukhtār*, Cairo, Vol. III, p. 294, for the Ḥanafī view, and Ibn Qudāmah, *Al-Mughnī*, Cairo, 1348, Vol. X, 587, for the Ḥanbalī view. It should be noted that no details are found either in the Qur'ān or the Hadīth about this. *Tr.*]

and was considered by the Muslims as a return for the privileges accorded to the Christians and the liberty given to them to follow their own principles. Of course such Christians as became Muslims were exempted from paying this tax.¹

Lastly, the Christians paid a tax on articles of merchandise and on movables which varied from $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the Muslims to a varying amount from the Christians according to the time and place of the levy. It was called *Zakāt* or *purification tax* and was considered to be the price for the permission to use the goods concerned. The Muslims thought that goods acquired in a wrongful manner did not bring good luck with them and they were constantly on guard against the chances of trade by sacrificing a part of their wealth in the cause of charity. The *Zakāt* paid into the public treasury by the Muslims is regarded as a voluntary sacrifice and should be paid to the poor, while that levied on the Christians was pooled to help the poor as well as to ransom prisoners of war.²

THE COURSE OF THE CONQUESTS

The reader perhaps wants to know the appellation by which the Arabs designated the Christians

¹For details see Ibn al-Qūṭīyah ; also Conde, vol. I. Earliest Conquests of the Muslims in Spain. The accounts of the taxes levied, as left to us by Arab authors, are very incomplete.

²Cp. Mouradjea d'Ohsson *Tableaux de l'Empire ottoman*, Vol. II, p. 403, and Vol. V, p. 15. Also Conde, Vol. I. pp. 270 and 601.

[This paragraph is very obscure. The *Zakāt* is not a voluntary sacrifice but is levied on all Muslims who come within the category of *Ahl-i-Niṣāb* : it was not levied on the Christians : it was not paid over to the poor. *Tr.*]

with whom they had so long been in contact either in time of peace or war. The Christians who came under the domination of the Muslims were called *Mu'āhid* or *allies*, and *Ahlul-Zimmah* or *the protected*. As a matter of fact, the very moment that the Christians obtained the privilege of security of life and free exercise of their religion and agreed to pay the usual tribute, a reciprocal obligation began to exist between the two parties whereby the victors in their turn promised the vanquished that they would protect them against all outside encroachment. In addition to this the Muslims also called the Christians in general and those who did not accept their domination in particular '*elej* or *professing another religion*, and '*ajamy* or *belonging to a separate race*. They also dubbed them *mushrik* or *polytheists* as they thought that the Christians, by recognizing the Trinity of the Godhead, in effect believed in three gods.¹

As the victors and the natives of the country spoke two different languages, the question arises as to the method by which they communicated with one another. While the Arabs had no taste for learning a foreign language, their Christian subjects

¹ See our *Monumens Arabes du cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*. Vol. II, p. 8. We have not met the word *Mozarabe* as applied to the Christians living under the rule of the Muslims in the Arabic authorities even once. It is said that the word was used for the Spanish Christians who lived under the rule of the Musalmans, although some Christian authors have ventured to trace the epithet to the Arabic language. The name given to those Muslims who consented to be ruled by the Christians as the latter gained ground, was *Mudejare*, and we come across an analogous word,

مدجل, in the writings of certain Ottoman writers but the etymology of the word is still obscure. Re. the *Mudejares*, see Marmol, 1573 edition, Vol. I, p. 154.

were far too ignorant and barbarous to think of learning the language of their masters. The first to do so was Hartmote, an abbot of the monastery of St. Gall who, in 880, added to his studies of Greek and Hebrew a knowledge of the Arabic language.¹ It was not till the era of the Crusades, when the torch of learning began to illuminate the whole world, that the forefathers of the present-day Europeans began to take interest in the language and religious beliefs of a people which had so long ruled a great part of their continent. In order to study Islam and the Muslims they generally went to Spain where the Muslims specialized in the Arabic as well as in the Latin lore and where every convenience was offered to them. It was at Toledo in 1142 that the Venerable Peter, abbot of Cluny, began to translate the Qur'ān for the first time in Latin, after which he attempted to refute the doctrine of Islam, thus treading a path trod later by many a Christian follower.²

There is, however, no doubt that there was quite a large number of persons in France who spoke the Arabic language. We have already seen that the early conquerors took some scions of noble families as hostages and sent them right into the heart of the Empire,³ and some of them must have later on gone back to their native land. Moreover, there must have been some Christian prisoners and slaves who had regained their liberty, and we

¹*Histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. V, p. 611.

²See *Le Roman de Mahomet et le livre de la loi au Sarrazin*, edited by MM. Reinaud et Francisque Michel, Paris, Sylvestre, 1831, Preface.

³See above, chapter I.

definitely know that there were Saracen serfs spread on all the four corners of the land.

In addition to these there were pilgrims and merchants who, even during the dark days of the invasions, travelled through Egypt, Syria and other lands of Islam. Such, for instance, was the Englishman St. Guillebaud who, about 730, went by way of France and Italy to Syria where he arrived four years later. Such pilgrims and merchants could have furnished us with some of the most interesting information about the politics and resources of contemporary Muslim princes and the general character of the Islamic nations: for example it would have been of the greatest importance for us to know what was happening at Damascus at the time, how the Muslim armies marched on their western trail and the exact results of their amazing victories. Unfortunately, however, these pilgrims and merchants have left absolutely nothing behind them. We learn that when St. Guillebaud arrived in Syria he was arrested as a spy and was set free only on the plea that his sole object in visiting the country was to pay homage to the places sanctified by the mysteries of the Christian religion. Moreover, while he was at Damascus, he had the honour of an audience with no less a personage than the Khalifah of Islam himself. In spite of all his adventures, however, he has not said a single word about things which would have deeply interested us in the accounts of his journey left to us by one of his cousins.

There is little doubt that the general ideas prevalent in Europe during that period must have kept the more pious element of the people from paying much attention to all these events. They were led to believe that these invasions were the direct result of the Divine Wrath caused by the sins of man. Now it is the rule of nature that piety with such a psychological background has always something of fatalism behind it, with the result that those with such ideas at the back of their mind, neglect human methods and resign themselves to the notion that they will be cured of a disease without as much as touching the medicine. We can well perceive the tremendous difference between this statism and the dynamic forces which led to the Crusades only a short time afterwards.

We have already noticed how the Saracens captured women and children during their raids.

It was a general rule that the imprisoned boys were turned into soldiers while women and girls helped to perpetuate the conquering races, and this method of keeping up their strength independently of any help from Spain and Africa entered the calculations of the Muslims very early. In order to understand their methods fully, we may give an instance of their earliest colonization of Crete. We have seen that, subsequent to a rebellion in the vicinity of Cordova, fifteen thousand of its inhabitants had to leave Spain, and after having swelled their number with a further addition of adventurers at Alexandria,

they set sail for Crete. The leader of this expedition was so much fascinated by the beauty of the country that he immediately made up his mind to form a permanent Muslim colony in the island and forthwith set fire to the fleet. His companions were astounded to see their precious vessels in flames and enquired of their commander how they would be able to communicate with their wives and children at home. On hearing the question put to him he retorted that he had given them a new land which would in turn furnish them with women in order to make them a present of newly born children.¹

When the Muslims first conquered the country, their object was to subjugate this beautiful land and bring it as well as the rest of Europe under the law of the Qur'ān. As time passed, however, the primary consideration left in the mind of the foreigners was the love of plunder, hunger for vengeance and thirst for adventure, while towards the end of the ninth century the settlement of the Muslims in Provence and their raids in the region of the Alps were merely events of pure chance. Here we may mention the method of colonization of the island of Sicily on the testimony of the historian Luitprand. He says that barely two years had passed since the death of Charlemagne and the name of the great monarch was still held in awe by the foreigners when, in 816, the Greek governor of Sicily revolted from the Emperor of

¹Conde, Vol. I, p. 263 ; M. Et. Quatremere, *Mémoires historiques sur l'Égypte*, Vol. II, p. 197; Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, Book LXVIII, s. 43.

Constantinople and sent word to the African prince of Qairuwan for help.¹ This Muslim prince consulted his entourage of nobles who advised him to accede to the request of the Christian governor, while at the same time desiring that no colonial settlement should be made in the island and as much wealth removed from it as possible. They were led to believe that as the island was situated so near the Italian mainland it would no doubt receive abundant help from both Greece and France, and that it was impossible for a people alien alike in language and in their religious beliefs to make a permanent settlement there. "What," enquired one of the nobles, "is the distance between the island and the Italian peninsula?" He was thereupon told that it was possible to cover the distance twice and even thrice in a single day. "Then what is the distance," asked the nobleman, "between Sicily and Africa?" He was informed that a ship took twenty-four hours to cross over. "In such a case," said the enquirer, "even had I been a bird I would not have made it my home."² As a matter of fact, it was only an after-thought which led to the occupation of Sicily by the Muslims of Africa and even then the real cause was not so much the wealth of the country as the anarchy which prevailed in the island. The same was the case with their settlement in southern Italy to which it was the native princes of the

¹[In 816 the Eastern Emperor was Leo V. *Tr.*]

²See Nuwairī's extracts in Rosanio Gregorio's collection about Sicily entitled *Rerum Arabicarum*, Palermo, 1790.

land who called them in order to settle their internecine quarrels.

The above are a few general observations on the character of the incursions of the Muslims into France and the circumstances which accompanied them. We have thought fit to place them before the reader here, for they will serve to clear the problems which still remain to be examined. We shall now deal with the traces of the sojourn of the Muslims in France and the surrounding lands.

TRACES OF MUSLIM OCCUPATION OF FRANCE

If we leave out of consideration the general devastation which followed the earliest invasions of the Saracens, we find that they have left few permanent traces in France. It is not that religious zeal had blinded the people of southern France who paid no heed to the aggression of the warriors who believed that they were destined to conquer all that came in their way much in the same manner as the Romans before them. The great distance which separated the people of the north from the inhabitants of the south and the disorders which existed in every grade of society had in fact extinguished all sense of patriotism among Frenchmen.

The fact that the Muslims left so few traces of their French sojourn was due to another cause. When they first set foot on the soil of France, the Muslims were entirely fresh from the desert and new to all ideas of civilization as it was understood in the West, so that it was hardly possible for them to achieve anything very considerable in the

arts of peace. We notice that there is not a trace of an Arab monument at Narbonne, a town which was under their occupation for forty years and which was their outpost against the rest of France. In a city in which we come across traces of Roman occupation at every step, not a fort or wall, not an inscription, can be ascribed to the Muslim domination with any certainty, nor does it appear that any writer has ever alluded to such a sign of their rule.¹

In this connection mention is sometimes made of a building which is now used as church of the village of Planès near Mount Louis in French Cerdagne which is said to have been erected by the Muslims while they were masters of the country before the reign of Charlemagne, although the building, which is in a perfect state of preservation, contains nothing which might be said to have been part of a mosque. It is in fact shaped like an equilateral triangle with a circle on each side, the circumference of which passes through the centre of a fourth circle forming the upper cupola of the edifice. It will clearly be perceived that a building like this could not have served as a mosque. It is moreover sometimes conjectured² that it was the

¹[The theory propounded by the author seems to be very strange. Surely the people who built the Great Mosque of Cordova and the Alcazar of Seville could build monuments of their stay on the soil of France which they occupied for such a long time. The truth seems to be that these border lands often changed hands, and were finally occupied by the Christian hordes, so that it was only a matter of course that, what monuments of Muslim occupation there were, were either destroyed by frequent wars or else consciously destroyed by the indignant Frenchmen. Tr.]

²*Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires*, Vol. X, p. 213.

mausoleum of the Muslim leader Manuza who was at one time governor of the Pyrenees. But, firstly, the building is not shaped like a tomb at all ; then, the question arises as to who could have constructed this 'tomb' ; surely not the Christians who could not have forgotten the burning of a bishop alive at the hands of Manuza ; nor the Muslims who considered him a traitor and were in fact conspiring to put an end to his life. As a matter of fact, the building may safely be dated after the Muslims had evacuated the country, and, although the total absence of any ornaments precludes us from fixing the precise date, still everything leads us to believe that it was erected by the Christians after the tenth century A.C.¹

The only question about the early invasions of the Muslims to be dealt with now is that connected with the medals of the Arabs which were at one time used as current coins in France. Such pieces are unearthed even now in the provinces of Languedoc and Provence, but unfortunately they contain neither the name of any potentate nor of the province in which they were struck and are, therefore, of no help whatever to the historian.

Before settling down in Provence towards the end of the ninth century and crossing the border of Dauphiné, Savoy and Switzerland, the Muslims had already made great progress in sciences and arts and were making important discoveries in that direction. It is impossible to deny that the average

¹This is Baron Taylor's opinion. In view of the fact that he has made a thorough examination of the edifice, his opinion is bound to carry considerable weight.

Spanish, Sicilian, and even African Muslim was far more advanced than the average Christian of France or the surrounding countries, then unfortunately a prey to anarchy and all the misfortunes in its trail. It would be unnecessary here even to trace the outline of the picture of the marvellous civilization and culture of the Spanish Muslims. Who has not heard of the magnificent mosque of Cordova, now used as a Christian cathedral, which was erected as far back as the later half of the eighth century A.C., and who is not aware of the magnificent bridges, canals and monuments of every description which were erected in Spain from this time onwards ! And it was not only in the realm of the arts properly so called that the Muslim excelled his non-Muslim neighbour ; his native superiority was also manifest in sciences as well, for we are aware that the Muslims had translated Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides and Ptolemy into Arabic and had even made additions to the knowledge handed on to them by the ancients.

This superiority was in fact acknowledged by the Christians themselves. History has preserved the memory of Sancho, Prince of Leon, who was the victim of an incurable ailment some time about 960 A.C. and who requested the Khalifah 'Abdul Raḥmān III that a safe conduct might be granted to him to Cordova. When this was duly done he went to the capital of the Western Khilāfat where he was so enchanted by the welcome he received and satisfied by the treatment of the physicians

that he remembered it ever afterwards.¹ It was about this time that Gerbert the monk of Auvergne, who later became Pope with the title of Sylvester II,² went to Spain in order to study physical and mathematical sciences, and he was so successful in getting information and digesting it that he was regarded as a sorcerer by his own countrymen!

It was, however, only natural that but a very small proportion of Frenchmen could drink at this fountain of learning and culture, and the mass of the people therefore remained utterly ignorant. The Saracenic groups, with fire and sword in their hands, ready to subjugate the fair provinces of France, could be of little help to the ancestors of present-day Frenchmen, for we have already seen that these groups were composed of adventurers of all climes whose sole desire was to enrich themselves by plunder. The real influence exercised by Arabian civilization came much later, even later than the Crusades of the twelfth century A.C., when Christianity and Islam, the West and the East, were in so many ways face to face, and Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans, so recently given up to lethargy, manifested a desire to partake of what was best in the culture of Islam. While the knowledge of the Greek language had been entirely lost in the West, the treatises of famous Greek authors had been rendered into Arabic, and it was then that Christians of France and the

¹There is another analogous fact in Maqqarī. [Sancho the Fat, Prince of Leon, descendant of Pelayo, ruled 956—967. *Tr.*]

²[Sylvester II, Pope, 999—1003. *Tr.*]

surrounding lands came to Spain to try and translate these Arabic texts into the Latin tongue. It is really through these translations that the works of classical authors were studied in European universities right up to the fifteenth century A.C.

We shall now say a few words about certain edifices connected with the second occupation of France by the Muslims. It is only natural that but few of these monuments exist which might take us back through such a wide expanse of centuries, and what few do remain have been altered by the hand of time.

It is greatly to be regretted that the castle erected by the Muslims at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Tropès has been destroyed but the rock-cut works, a few traces of which still exist, give the visitor a good idea of the great patience of those who were in their occupation. But unfortunately nowhere is an inscription to be met with, and nowhere can such a writing be seen as adorned the Greek and Roman monuments and such as the Arabs themselves never forgot to employ in Spain and elsewhere.

Some writers have described certain strongholds built on high eminences, and attributed them to the Muslim occupation. Moreover, we read of a number of towers which still crown certain mountains and hills in a large part of France and Italy, especially on the sea-coast, which are attributed to the Muslim occupation of those lands. It is said that it was from these heights that the Muslim bands became aware of what was happening round about either by

means of artificial light at nightfall or else by some other method, and thereupon concentrated their movement on the object in view.¹ As a matter of fact, the Arab authors themselves mention the *Ribāṭs* or points of observation erected in the Languedoc by 'Uqbah about 734 A.C.² We might therefore surmise that the opinion of certain modern authors about these towers, that they were built by the Muslims, is not without foundation. But, generally speaking, would it not be far more natural to attribute the watch-towers built near the coast to the Christians who were continuously menaced by the Muslim raiders, and who had no other means of knowing about their approach except from them?

It is not necessary to pause here and discuss various objects of interest which have been preserved in France and which are sometimes traced back to the occupation of the country by the Muslims. A number of them still exist in the treasuries of different churches of the country and the cabinets of rich collectors of odds and ends, and consist of silk cloth, ivory and silver boxes, crystal bowls, arms, etc. The price at which they are purchased gives some idea of the great value which is put on the works of Saracenic art, but it only proves that the ancestors of present-day Frenchmen were ever ready to copy them in their own way,³ for, as a matter of fact, most of these

¹*Promenade pittoresque dans le Département de la Var* by M. Alphonse Denys ; also above, chapter I, about the middle.

²Isidore de Beja gives an analogous account about 'Uqbah's predecessor Al-Samḥ ; see chapter I, about the middle.

³Frenchmen once used a cloth called the *Sarrazine*. See Ducange, *Glossaire de la Basse Latinité*, at the words *Saracenicum* and *Saracenum*.

objects cannot be dated back to a period earlier than the ninth century A.C.¹

The second stay of the Muslims in France must have exercised considerable influence on the development of agriculture. Although no trace is found in Provence or Dauphiné of such magnificent canals as are still the wonderful assets of Murcia, Valencia and Granada, still there is no doubt that there were among the invaders many friends of humanity who wished to give their newly acquired country at least some of the advantages which had become part and parcel of their European homes.

We hear that the black wheat, also called Saracen wheat, which is one of the most important products of France at the present day, originally came from Persia *via* Egypt, whence it traversed northern Africa through Spain along with the Muslim armies, passing finally into France. This valuable plant serves as an eatable as well as for forage, and can be ground into flour which can easily be cooked into a nice palatable dish.

The art of working the product of the cork-tree, which is abundant in the forest still called the *Forest of the Moors*, is also attributed to the Muslims. This tree was cultivated in Catalonia for a long time, and forms one of the chief causes of the prosperity

¹Such as the two timbals preserved at Narbonne up to the present day, which were rung every year on the occasion of the Corpus Christi. A manuscript history of Narbonne by M. Louis Piquet in the possession of M. Jalabert, an enthusiastic curio-collector of Narbonne, says that these date back to the occupation of the town by the Muslims. But the inscription on the timbals themselves says that they were manufactured in Egypt or Syria in the time of the Mamlūks, so that they cannot be older than the thirteenth century at the earliest.

of the country round about Fraxinet even at the present day.¹

It is probable that the Muslims gave a new impetus to the industry of extracting resin from the maritime pine, a tree which is very common in Provence, and turning it into tar used for the purpose of calking boats. Even today tar is called *Qitran* in Provence, a word which originally came from the Arabic language. We believe that the Muslims kept a navy stationed in the Gulf of St. Tropès in order to maintain communications with their dominions overseas, and this tar must have been utilized by their sailors.²

The Muslims are said to have turned a new leaf in the matter of horse-breeding in the south of France, especially in the Camargue country. It seems that the present-day Camargue horses are the descendants of the native mares and Andalusian horses. The Muslim fleets must have brought a considerable number of horses into France so that there might be no difficulty for the soldiers to ride into the interior of the country. Thus a letter from Pope Leo III to the Emperor Charlemagne mentions that a Muslim squadron, which made a descent on the coast of Naples, had some 'Moorish' horses on board,³ but as the men had to seek refuge

¹The centre of the industry is the village of Garde-Fragnet itself. See *Statistiques du Département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, Vol. VI, p. 18.

²As regards the exploitation of the pine by the Ancients, vide Pliny the Naturalist, Book XVI, No. 16 ff. The author of the *Statistique du Département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, Vol. VI, p. 18, is mistaken when he says that it was unknown before the Middle Ages.

³*Caballi maurisci*. [Leo III, Pope, 795—816. It was he who crowned Charlemagne as Emperor. *Tr.*]

on land without being able to take the animals along with them, the poor animals were forthwith put to death.¹ As a matter of fact, an article in the military code of the Muslims enjoined thus : "When you decide to retire from the enemy's country, you should leave neither horse nor beast, forage or prisoner or anything which might prove to be useful to the enemy."²

We are, however, forced to believe that the breeding of the Provençal horses must have taken place later, for it must have been easier for Catalan and Andalusian horses to cross over when both Spain and Catalonia belonged to a single ruler. The evidence for this presumption is furnished by the fact that the breed is called *egos* in Catalonia, which is only another form of the Spanish word *yegua*, meaning a mare. Moreover, a charter of 1184 mentions two Catalan bulls living in one of the farms of Camargue.³

We can likewise date back the renovation of the horses of the Landes country to the period when Gascon soldiers crossed the Pyrenees almost every year in order to support their Christian co-religionists, and thus had all the facilities for acquiring what might eventually prove to be useful to their own land.

Quite a large number of customs are still found in Provence which might safely be dated back to

¹ *Critique des annales de Baronius*, by M. Pagi, at year 813, No. 20 ff.

² Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableaux de l'Empire ottoman*, Vol. V, p. 60.

³ *Vide Statistique du Département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, Vol. IV, p. 24.

The author's opinion is somewhat different to ours.

[But both *egos* and *yegua* are really derived from the Latin *equus*, and furnish no evidence of the supposition as put forward by the learned author. *Tr.*]

the time when the Muslims were masters of that part of France. There are evening and night dances, the phases of which vary with different localities but are similar in essentials, in which the male dancer stands between two female dancers alternately presenting her with an orange ; or else male and female dancers are placed in two files, each file crossing the other, while the female dancers at the head of each file make a gesture which is in turn copied by all others. There is then another kind of dance in which men touch each other with their swords and act as if they were catching hold of a villager or else defending themselves against their opponents.¹

We are of opinion that either these dances are not the heritage of the Muslims at all or else they have entirely lost their original character. In the East as well as in the southern climes the spirit of jealousy does not allow men and women to mix with each other freely. There are perhaps some women who take part in dances and other open-air festivals, but they go there all by themselves. So far as war-dance is concerned, it is the remnant of the custom of the ancients among whom such dances were greatly prized by the élite of the society.²

¹*Ibid.*, *Statistique du Département des Bouches-de-Rhône*, Vol. III, pp. 208; also, Millin, *Voyage dans les départements du midi de la France*, Vol. III, p. 360 ; Vol. IV, p. 197.

²Burchhardt, *Voyage en Arabie*, French translation, Vol. III, pp. 60 and 182. He has given some extremely interesting details of the dances in vogue among the Beduins.

We have now arrived at the stage at which we may examine the question whether the Muslims established permanent colonies in France after their incursions or not. Many such colonies are in fact mentioned, and it is probable that in the course of these incursions some Muslim detachments were cut off from the main body of the army and forced to surrender. But history has not transmitted the memory of any permanent colony and we have no means whatever to supplement our knowledge. We must remember that it is not the Muslims only who invaded France, for even if we put aside the hordes which preceded them, we see that the Normans and the Huns overran the country, not to mention the Germans (of whom a large part was composed of the Saxons) who were transplanted by Charlemagne in different parts of his vast Empire. In order to distinguish these races from one another it is necessary that we should find some remnant of their primitive manners and customs among their descendants. But in a country like France with its nearly uniform provinces, where everything tends to a similar shape in the long run, it is hardly possible that such distinctive marks should have kept their integrity and continuity for so many centuries. Moreover, we have already noticed that even among the Muslim invaders there were persons belonging to a number of races and accepting different forms of religious beliefs.

We do not think that there exists in France a population the origin of which can positively be traced back to the Muslim colonists of the country.

We read that there were some people living between Macon and Lyons on the banks of the Saône who were descended from such Muslims as could not regain the Pyrenees after their defeat at the hands of Charles Martel. It is said that some of the expressions used by this community may be traced back to Arabic roots and some of their manners and customs are also said to be significantly allied to those of the Arabs.¹ But these expressions are, as a matter of fact, derived either from Latin or old French or else from a language which has now become entirely extinct, while there is nothing to prevent us from ascribing the peculiarity of the local customs to the Bohemians or other foreign races.²

Moreover, if we were to consult the pages of history we should know that the existence of Saracenic colonies in a particular locality cannot be ascertained. During the first half of the tenth century, the Normans and the Huns all made the unlucky land of France their rendezvous, and, when these foreign races were heaping ruin upon ruin, it seems that the country round about Tournus and Macon became, by a curious coincidence, the place of refuge of the oppressed, to which the monks and bishops carried with them the relics of the Saints and treasures of their churches from the rest of France.³ If, therefore, an Arab colony had been

¹Vide M. Ribaud's dissertation in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires*, Vol. V, pp. 1 ff.

²As regards the Bohemians, vide M. Walckenaar's curious letter in *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, Vol. LX, pp. 64 ff.

³*Historiens de France* by Dom Bouquet, Vol. IX, pp. 7, 566, 669, etc.

existing in this part of the country there was hardly any possibility of its becoming the meeting-place of refugees.

We should likewise reject the theory of those who consider that the Cagots of Bigorre and other parts adjacent to the Pyrenees may be traced back to the Muslim invaders. The Cagots, who are found in their homelands even today, always regarded themselves as belonging to a distinct community, and were considered to be an easy prey to contagious diseases. The savant de Marca thought that they were really a remnant of the Muslims and derived their name from the *caas-goths* or '*hunters of the Goths*.' But we must remember that in their own country the Cagots are called *Christaas* or the Christians, a fact which has led one of the historians to surmise that they were really primitive Christians who had never left their mountain fastnesses and who were completely isolated from the rest of the population because they did not absorb the ways of the rest of their neighbourhood.¹ Whatever the truth may have been, there is no doubt that de Marca's surmise cannot be upheld, and we can easily connect the Cagots with a number of different communities spread all over Brittany, Auvergne and elsewhere under the names of the *Caqueux*, *Cacous*, *Capots*, etc.²

¹M. Walckenaar's letter in *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 326 ff.

²Cf. Michelet's *Histoire de France*, Vol. I, p. 495; and *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires*, Vol. X, p. 217. What we have said of the so-called colony of the Saracens on the Saône, as well as of the Cagots, is equally true of a community on the banks of the Loire on the peninsula of Véron between the Loire and the Vienne, vide *Voyage aux Alpes Maritimes* by M. Emm. Fodere, Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.

It is not necessary to go here into details about those Muslims of Spain who migrated into France, especially the southern provinces, during the reign of Henry IV. As the reader is perhaps aware, King Philip III of Spain could not tolerate the presence of men who held religious views in direct opposition to the dominating Christian faith, and thought that as they belonged to the same religion as the citizens of the Ottoman Empire which was still in the heyday of its glory, they could be of grave danger to the rich and powerful state of Iberia. It was with these motives that he forced these unfortunate beings to leave their hearth and home and take refuge somewhere else, and of them as many as one hundred and fifty thousand souls went to France. The French government, however, only allowed them to cross the country so that a large part of them went over to the Ottoman Empire and the continent of Africa, while those who remained in France intermixed with the native population and became Christian.¹

The question arises whether the literature of the Arabs has left any visible marks on the thought of southern Europe. We hear that the nomads of Arabia were the first to employ the rhyme, amorous poetry and war-songs for the expression of their innermost feelings. However that may be, we know that it was towards the end of the Muslim occupation of southern France that the langue d'oc and the langue d'oïl were first formed, and as a

¹Chénier, *Récherches historiques sur les Maures*, Vol. II, p. 385; M. Capefigue, *Richelieu, Mazarin, la Fronde et la règne de Louis XIV*, Vol. I, pp. 31, 88 ff. [Philip III, King of Spain, 1598—1621. *Tr.*]

matter of fact, Latin existed only in books while the Germanic language had fallen into disuse. The langue d'oc was the language of the southern provinces of France and of Catalonia, parts which were the home of the Muslims for centuries, and it is no wonder that their language, i.e., Arabic, principally influenced it. But this influence did not probably make itself felt till the final expulsion of the Muslims from the soil of France. The great works of romance-literature which have come down to us date much later than the first half of the tenth century A.C., and there is no doubt that the immediate effect of the occupation of a part of France was only to hinder the development of a civilization which tended to carry its message to the followers of the Christian religion.¹

There is no doubt that there are a number of words in the French language which are incontestably Arabic in their origin, for instance, the expression *salam-alayk*, meaning *peace to thee*, and *alayk-as-salam*, meaning *to thee peace*; but such words and expressions might have been introduced after the evacuation of the country by the Muslims, e.g., during the wars of the Crusades. We must also remember that the relations between the people of France and the Muslims did not come to an end with the Crusades but have, on the other hand, only tended to grow to a greater extent than ever before on the changed basis of commerce and

¹We are grateful for some of these observations to M. Sismondi's *Histoire de la littérature des peuples de l'Europe*.

mutual friendship.¹

One of the effects of the domination of the Muslims on France was the creation of a host of fiefs and lordships, some of which exist even at the present day. We know that, while the Muslims took possession of the rich and fertile valleys of the country, there were other parts of France which were entirely ruined by their incursions, and it was only natural that those who had helped to rid the country of the foreigners should parcel out the conquered lands among themselves. This was the state of affairs in the sees of Grenoble and Gap and in lower Provence,² and even before the expulsion of the Muslims from those lands it had already become the fashion in the northern provinces of Spain.

This method of adding to one's estates seemed to be so perfectly natural that the princes and

¹[It is curious that the learned author has not been able to lay his hand on any other Arabic word in the French language. The sciences of Astronomy, Algebra, and Optics, among many others, are full of Arabic words which have become international now but a very large number of which no doubt came to Europe *via* Spain and France. We are sorry, we have not been able to consult the Dictionary of the French Academy; the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gives 400 as the number of Arabic words in French, but we consider the estimate to be much lower than the reality. *Tr.*]

²It is well to remember the mistake of certain writers who date back the foundation of some eminent houses of France to Charlemagne only in order to flatter their vanity; see above, chapter I, end. Others have committed another mistake in attributing to this domination an influence which in fact never existed, and in considering it to be the foundation-stone of the municipal franchise and the spirit of liberty which manifested itself in the southern provinces earlier than other parts of France. We are certain that this was the result of the civilization of Rome which has been preserved in Provence and the Languedoc more or less in its primitive form. Vide M. Renouard, *Histoire du droit municipal en France*, Paris, 1829, 2 vols. in 8vo.

nobles made it a regular source of their income and wildly speculated on the expeditions against the infidels in the same way as we should speculate to-day on the sailing of a trading vessel. Thus in 1034 Ermengaud II, Count of Urgel, made a gift of a tenth of his prizes to a monastery situated on his lands¹ and in 1074 Pope Gregory VII wrote to the grandees of Spain informing them that he intended to invest Ebles II, Count of Roucy, with all the lands he might capture from the Muslims provided that he made a declaration that he would hold them in fief from the Holy See and would pay it an annual tribute.²

To sum up, it seems that the influence directly exercised by the Muslims in France was by no means as considerable as is sometimes attributed to them ; and even their ravages and devastating forays, however serious they may have been, were nothing compared to those committed by the Normans and the Huns, for the latter races had a vaster theatre to act upon owing to their late arrival and they met with the least amount of obstruction. On the other hand, it is not the memory of the damages wrought by the Saracens which remains permanently inscribed in the nature of Frenchmen, but it was their civilizing acts, adventurous spirit and might which absorbed all their thought and Frenchmen began to attribute to the Muslims all that was colossal and gigantic in their

¹French National Library. Collection of charters, major cartulary of St. Michel de Cuxa, fol. III, back.

²*Art de vérifier les dates*, Vol. III, part 2, p. 273. [Hildebrand, crowned Pope as Gregory VII, Pope, 1073—1086. *Tr.*]

country.¹ The town of Orange still presents some of the most imposing remains of the Roman occupation which are called Saracenic in one of the manuscript poems extant, and the same is true of the old city walls of the town of Vienne in Dauphiné.² Even today, whenever any of the large bricks used by the Romans to cover their roofs is unearthed, even in parts of France where no Muslim could have set his foot, the natives lose no time in naming it *tuile sarrazine* or Saracenic tile.

While the invasions of the Normans and the Huns are remembered only by the authors of historical works, the name of the Muslim invaders of France has ever been present in the innermost depths of the minds of Frenchmen. It is not easy to give the exact reason for this varying estimate of the acts of three sets of invaders. No doubt, the earliest invasions of the Muslims were of such a grandiose character that their accounts can hardly be read without a certain amount of emotion. Moreover, differently to the Normans and the Huns, the Muslims were for a long time in the vanguard of civilization, and continued to be an object of terror to the coastal regions of France even after they had given up all idea of governing the land. Lastly, there is no doubt that the wars which were carried on in Spain, Africa and Asia in the name of the Cross were bound to throw the name of Islam into prominence in the annals of

¹*Roman de Garin le Loherain*, published by M. Paulin, Paris, Vol. I, p. 88, and Vol. II, pp. 57 and 199.

²Mermet, *Histoire de la ville de Vienne*, part 2, 1833, in 8vo., p. 148.

Europe. All these reasons, however, are not enough to explain the important place which the name of the Saracens has in the estimation of the Europeans, and we are of opinion that the real cause of this singular fact is the influence which the romances of chivalry exercised in the Middle Ages, an influence which has more or less remained intact right up to our own day.

CHIVALRIC ROMANCES

It is difficult today, when the chivalric romances have almost been forgotten, to make a correct estimate of the effect which they must have produced. In the Middle Ages they formed almost the only reading matter at hand for the recreation of the nobility as well as the common people. It was in them that the soldiers and those who wished to elevate their own sentiments went to look for lessons of bravery and generosity, and it was through them that men and women acquired the quality of gallantry, a quality which filled a very prominent place in the manners of the period, for the monuments of classical antiquity had generally been lost sight of, and even the ancient national chronicles, which could have directed the people on the right path, were never read.

The romances of chivalry, only a few of which have come down to us, were written in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.C. They were mostly in verse and were read by persons belonging to all classes of society and recited before assembled congregations by wandering minstrels called *jongleurs*, who travelled from village to village and town

to town. There was hardly any festival or event of importance in a castle or village where some part or other of these poems was not recited before admiring audiences. It is these very pieces which were reproduced by Italian writers, especially Ariosto, in later years and were clothed in a new form in order to find a wider and a more extended currency.

We know that the wars of Charles Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne, which form a large part of the chivalric romances, were chiefly fought against the Frisians, Bavarians, Saxons and other Germanic and Slavic races which continuously threatened the frontiers of the Empire. But at the time when these romances were composed, the French Empire had in fact ceased to exist and the Kingdom of France had been reduced more or less to its present limits, so that those who had to show their mettle had to go and fight against the enemies of their nation on the banks of the Ebro and the Guadalquivir or else in the valleys of the Jordan, the Orontes and the Nile. In view of the fact that the authors of these romances wrote chiefly for the warriors of the land and for those who loved to figure in tourneys and military exercises, they were obliged to bring the ideas and mannerisms of their period before the public. Henceforward the name of Roland and the heroes, who were, so to say, inflaming the mind of the people ever since the days of Charlemagne, became a kind of slogan round which the glories of military exploits and triumph of arms ranged themselves. Moreover, the poets came to class the Saxon and other north-

ern races, which had been fighting against the French nation under the universal epithet of Saracens.¹

It must, therefore, be accepted in principle that the exploits of the knights and warriors of the heroic age were considered to have been undertaken against the Muslims. It is not necessary here to describe the hundred and one occasions on which they could distinguish themselves. Nearly every town of Italy and southern France was supposed to have had its own Amīr or Muslim prince, if only to glorify the deeds of the Christian lords who were supposed to have dispossessed him.² In these poems one meets the Muslims in Christian tourneys and sports in all parts of the earth where there was a laurel to win. Moreover, in order to regain the glory of the Christian knights, who naturally won in the end, the character of the Muslim warriors was raised above the common level and was made a model of nobility and generosity,³ and in fact, perhaps, the only persons who were supposed to have been superior to them in courage and bravery were Renaud and Roland.

Here also may be found another proof of the moral superiority of the Muslims of Spain. We

¹Some of the ideas detailed above are taken from the articles about the Provençals in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1823.

²See *Roman de Philomène*.

³In the romance called *Parthénopeus de Blois* the Christian hero is captured by the Muslim by some treacherous act. On hearing this the leader of the Muslims surrenders himself to the French king and declares that he is willing to undergo any punishment the king might wish to inflict on him. The same character is given to another Muslim potentate. See the *Journal des Savans*, Dec., 1834, p. 728, article by M. Raynouard.

read in certain Spanish chronicles how Alphonso the Great, king of the Asturias, found that there was not one in his kingdom who could educate his heir and successor in a proper manner, so that he was obliged to engage two Muslims of Cordova for the purpose. Moreover, we read in the romances of chivalry that when Charlemagne was still in his infancy, he was sent to the Muslims of Spain for his education and general culture and it is this idea which made early Europeans believe that they were able to renovate the face of the West almost entirely owing to the light and learning derived from contemporary Muslims.¹

It was only when recourse was had to the original documents of French history some hundred years after these occurrences (especially during the last hundred and fifty years), that the romances of chivalry were put on the anvil of historical criticism, and truth sifted from falsehood. We are surprised to find the illustrious Mabillon himself hesitating to declare the utter falsehood of some episodes in the poem of William the Short-nosed and regarding as a historical fact the so-called occupation of southern France by the Muslims of the time of Charlemagne.²

There is no doubt that if all the Mūsas, the Tāriqs, the 'Abdul Raḥmāns and the Almanzors were to come back to life, they would be utterly shocked to find the great changes which have occurred in the respective position of the Muslims

¹Girard d'Amiens, *Roman des enfances de Charlemagne*, French manuscripts of the Royal Library, No. 7188, fol. 30, back.

²*Annales Benedictini*, Vol. II, p. 369.

and Christians in Europe ; but when the first impressions have been obliterated they would be agreeably surprised at the important place given to their exploits by the old romance-writers of France ; and as their spirit would be accustomed to great and adventurous deeds, it would surely pay homage to the sentiment of courtesy which ennobled the barbaric manners of ancient Europeans and which now seems, alas, to be disappearing day after day.

FINIS

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

[Mainly 710—1050 A.C.]

- A.C.
 570-71 Birth of Muḥammad, the Apostle of Islam.
 632 Death of Muḥammad.
-

- 705 Walīd, Umayyad Caliph.
 710 Muslim naval expedition to Corsica.
 711 Ṭāriq b. Ziyād in Spain; battle of the Gadelette;
 Mūsa b. Nuṣair reaches Narbonne.

THE GOVERNORATE OF ANDALUS

- 711 Mūsa b. Nuṣair, first Governor of Andalus; 'Abdul
 'Azīz b. Mūsa, Vice-Governor; Seville, capital of
 the new province of Andalus.
 714 'Abdul 'Azīz b. Mūsa, Governor of Andalus; marries
 Roderic's widow.
 715 Sulaimān, Umayyad Caliph.
 716 Ayyūb al-Lakhmī, Governor of Andalus.
 717 Al-Ḥurr al-Thaqafi, Governor of Andalus; Eudes,
 Duke of Aquitaine (upto 735); 'Umar b. 'Abdul
 'Azīz, Umayyad Caliph; Al-Ḥurr advances as far
 as Nîmes; Pelayo becomes "King" of the Asturias
 (upto 738); Charles later surnamed "Martel"
 becomes Mayor of Austrasia.
 719 Al-Samḥ al-Khawlānī, Governor of Andalus; Charles
 Martel, Mayor of the Frankish kingdoms.
 720 Yazīd II, Umayyad Caliph; Al-Samḥ puts the
 financial system of Languedoc in order.
 721 Reduction of Narbonne battle of Toulouse; Al-Samḥ
 dies fighting; 'Abdul Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī, Governor
 of Andalus; 'Ambisah al-Kalbī, Governor of
 Andalus.

- 724 'Ambisah crosses the Pyrenees ; Carcassonne and Nîmes occupied ; Hishām, Umayyad Caliph.
- 726 'Adhrah al-Fihri, Governor of Andalus ; Septimania upto the Rhône, the Albigeois, Rouergue, Gevaudan, Le Velay, Rhodès subjugated ; Dauphiné, the Lyonnais and Burgundy occupied including Macon, Chalon S. Saône, Beaume, Autun ; Yahya al-Kalbī, Governor of Andalus ; 'Uthmān b. Abī 'Abdih, Governor of Andalus.
- 727 'Uthmān b. Abī Nas'ah, Governor of Andalus.
- 728 Hudhaifah al-Qaisī, Governor of Andalus.
- 729 Hisām al-Kalbī, Governor of Andalus.
- 731 Muḥammad al-Ashja'ī, Governor of Andalus ; 'Abdul Raḥmān al-Ghafīqī, Governor of Andalus ; "Manuza," Commander in Cerdagne, marries Lampégie, daughter of Eudes of Aquitaine.
- 732 Attack on Arles ; Tarbe, Bigorre, Oléron occupied ; Bordeaux taken by Muslims ; battle of the Balāt ash-Shuhadā', Tours and Poitiers ; 'Abdul Raḥmān dies on the battlefield ; 'Abdul Malik al-Fihri, Governor of Andalus ; reported advance of the Franks as far as Pamplona and Gerona ; offensive in Languedoc ; alliance of the Counts of Languedoc with the Muslims of Narbonne.
- 734 Yūsuf, Vice-Governor of Narbonne, crosses the Rhône and captures Arles, St. Rémi and Avignon ; 'Uqbah as-Salūlī, Governor of Andalus ; fortification of Muslim positions in Languedoc ; attacks on Dauphiné, St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux, Donzère ; Lyon reoccupied and Burgundy invaded.
- 737 Charles Martel despatches Childebrand with a large army to Lyons ; Avignon recaptured by Charles, who reaches the Pyrenees ; battle of the Berre and defeat of the Muslims ; Charles dismantles Nîmes and other southern towns before leaving for the North ; reappears and defeats Mauronte who had allied with the Muslims.
- 740 'Abdul Malik al-Fihri, Governor of Andalus.

- 741 Pepin the Short, Mayor of the Palace of the Frankish kingdoms ; Civil War between the Berbers and the Arabs ; the Governor killed ; *Balj al-Qushairi*, Governor of Andalus ; Languedoc enjoys liberties under Muslim rule.
- 742 *Tha'labah al-'Amili*, Governor of Andalus.
- 743 Walid II, Umayyad Caliph ; *Hisām al-Kalbī*, Governor of Andalus ;
- 744 Yazid III, Umayyad Caliph.
- 745 Ibrāhīm, Umayyad Caliph ; *Thawābah*, Governor of Andalus ; Marwān II, Umayyad Caliph ; Vaiffre becomes Duke of Aquitaine (upto 768).
- 746 *Yūsuf al-Fihri*, Governor of Andalus.
- 747 'Abdul Raḥmān b. Yūsuf sent to the north to quell Christian insurrection.
- 750 Al-Ṣaffah, first Abbasid Caliph.
- 751 Vaiffre attacks Narbonne.
- 752 Languedoc towns, including Nîmes, submit to Pepin ; Narbonne withstands.
- 754 Al-Manṣūr, Abbasid Caliph (upto 775).
- 755 'Abdul Raḥmān the Umayyad lands at Malaga.

THE AMIRATE OF ANDALUS

- 756 'Abdul Raḥmān I, first Umayyad Amīr of Andalus.
- 759 Fall of Narbonne to the Franks ; Pyrenees made the southern boundary of the Frankish Dominions ; Sulaimān, Governor of Barcelona, conspires with Pepin.
- 765 Pepin sends his plenipotentiaries to Baghdād.
- 768 The Caliph Al-Manṣūr sends ambassadors to Pepin's Court ; death of Pepin and accession of Charlemagne as king of the Franks (upto 814) ; Sulaimān, ex-Governor of Saragossa, goes to Paderborn and puts himself under Charles's protection.
- 773 Construction of naval arsenals at Tarragona, Tortosa, Carthagenā, Seville, Almeria, etc.
- 775 Mahdī, Abbasid Caliph.

- 778 Charles captures Pamplona ; Charles appoints his son Louis king of Aquitaine.
- 785 Hādī, Abbasid Caliph.
- 786 Hārūn ar-Rashīd, Abbasid Caliph.
- 788 *Hishām I, Amīr of Andalus.*
- 792 Hishām's army marches simultaneously against the Asturias and Catalonia.
- 793 Muslims advance into France right up to Carcassonne; battle of Villedaigne ends in Muslim victory ; possible recapture of Narbonne.
- 796 *Hakam I, Amīr of Andalus* ; Charles courted by rebellious Muslim chiefs at Aix-la-Chapelle ; Muslim chief of Huesca goes over to Louis of Aquitaine ; Louis of Aquitaine besieges Huesca ; Hakam himself goes to the north and defeats the Christian forces.
- 799 Christians of the Balearic Islands congratulate Charlemagne on his successes.
- 800 Siege of Barcelona by Louis of Aquitaine.
- 25-12-800 Charlemagne crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III.
- 801 Fall of Barcelona and the creation of the Spanish Marches ; embassies exchanged between Charlemagne and Hārūn ar-Rashīd.
- 802 Muslims attack Corsica.
- 809 'Amr recaptures all Franco-Aragonese towns ; Amin, Abbasid Caliph.
- 810 Muslims attack Sardinia ; Charlemagne orders the building of military towers at post-towns ; first truce between Charlemagne and Hakam.
- 812 Second truce between Charlemagne and Hakam.
- 813 Muslims attack Corsica, Nice , Cività Vecchia (near Rome) ; advance of Hakam's son, 'Abdul Raḥmān, to the Pyrenees ; Mā'mūn, Abbasid Caliph.
- 814 Louis the Gentle succeeds Charlemagne as King of Franks and Emperor ; Muslim colonization of Crete ; capture of the Balearic Islands by the Muslims.
- 816 Muslim envoy at the Emperor's court at Compiègne.

- 820 Muslims attack Sardinia ; Béra, Christian governor of Barcelona, sides with the Muslims ; Christians of Navarre hand over Pamplona to the Muslims.
- 821 *'Abdul Raḥmān II, Amīr of Andalus.*
- 826 Louis the Gentle sides with the rebels of Estremadura.
- 827 The Christian lord, Aizon, sides with the malcontents of Aragon and Catalonia and captures the French town, Ausone ; Aizon helped by *'Abdul Raḥmān*, overruns the Spanish Marches ; naval raid on Oye in Brittany by the Muslims.
- 831 Ambassadors from Baghdād arrive at the court of Louis the Gentle ; naval attack on Marseilles by the Muslims ; Muslims sail up the estuary of the Rhône ; Mūsa, Governor of Tudela, enters Cerdagne.
- 833 Mu'tasim, Abbasid Caliph.
- 840 Lothair, Emperor (upto 855).
- 843 Charles the Bald, King of Neustria.
- 846 Muslim privateers sail up the Tiber right up to the gates of Rome ; Genoa raided.
- 848 Pepin, claimant of Languedoc, allies with the Muslims ; Arles in Muslim hands ; Mūsa, Governor of Saragossa, penetrates into France by way of Urgel and Rivagorsa ; Charles the Bald sues for peace.
- 850 Beginning of the so-called Christian martyrdoms.
- 852 *Muḥammad I, Amīr of Andalus* ; *'Umar b. Ḥafsūn* revolts against Cordova and penetrates into the Pyrenees region.
- 859 Normans, masters of Narbonne.
- 869 Muslim adventurers raid Provence and construct a harbour at Camargue.
- 877 Death of Charles the Bald on the way to Southern Italy to fight the Muslims there.
- 879 Boson proclaimed King of Arles.
- 886 *Mundhīr, Amīr of Andalus.*
- 887 Louis, King of Arles (upto 927).
- 888 *'Abdullah, Amīr of Andalus.*

- 889 Twenty Muslims sail up the Gulf of St. Tropès and found a colony at Fraxinetum.
- 906 Muslims cross the defiles of the Dauphiné and Mont Cénis ; attack Aqui.
- 908 And the Valley of the Suse.
- 911 Occupation of the Alpine Passes by the Muslim colonists.
- 912 'Abdul Raḥmān III, Amīr of Andalus.
- 915 Muslims evacuate the Garigliano valley.
- 920 'Abdul Raḥmān, the Amir's uncle, crosses the Pyrenees and reaches Toulouse ; Garde Frainet, Marseilles, Aix, Piémont attacked from Fraxinet.
- 929 Muslims advance to the borders of Liguria.

THE CALIPHATE OF ANDALUS

- 929 *Proclamation of the Western Caliphate by 'Abdul Raḥmān III.*
- 936 Otto the Great, Emperor.
- 939 Muslims reach Valais in Switzerland ; the Grison and Geneva reached.
- 940 Fréjus and Toulon occupied and colonized.
- 942 Hugh of Provence invites the Greek fleet to help him against the Muslim colonists, but makes peace with them ; Muslims in occupation of Mount Jupiter (Great St. Bernard) and other Alpine heights as well as the Aosta Valley.
- 942-952 Muslim privateers raid the Genoese coast ; settlement at Nice ; Grenoble occupied ; Muslim fortresses in Piémont—Fressineto and Fenestrelle.
- 952 Battle of Orbe between the Muslims and the Huns ; massacre of Muslims by Conrad of Burgundy ; the whole of Switzerland in Muslim hands.
- 956 Emperor Otto sends a diplomatic mission to Cordova.
- 960 Muslims evacuate Great St. Bernard ; Sancho of Leon comes to Cordova to get himself treated.
- 961 *Hakam II, Caliph ; Hakam orders the Catalan lords to raze their fortresses.*

- 965 Evacuation of Grenoble.
967 Crete occupied by the Greeks.
970 Possible evacuation of Savoy by the Muslims.
973 Episode of St. Mayeul at Orcières ; the Peyro Empio episode ; Gap evacuated ; battle of Tourtour and evacuation of Provence.
975 Evacuation of Fraxinet.
976 *Hishām II, Caliph.*
978 Almanzor appointed Ḥājib of the Caliphate.
1000 Pope Sylvester II goes to Cordova to study Physical Sciences.
1002 Battle of Soria ends in the defeat of the Muslims ; Almanzor's death at Medina Celi ; parties at Cordova appeal to Northern Christians for help.
1003 Muslims at Antibes.
1008 Death of the Ḥājib, 'Abdul Malik.
1009 *Muḥammad al-Mahdī, Caliph.*
1013 *Sulaimān, Caliph.*
1019 Muslims attempt to recapture Narbonne ; Mujāhid's exploits in the Mediterranean ; Maguelone attacked by Muslim freebooters.
1047 Raid on Lérins.
1050 Muslims evacuate Southern Italy and Sicily.
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- 1492 Fall of Granada ; disappearance of the last vestige of Muslim political power in Spain.
1610 Final expulsion of Muslims from the Peninsula.

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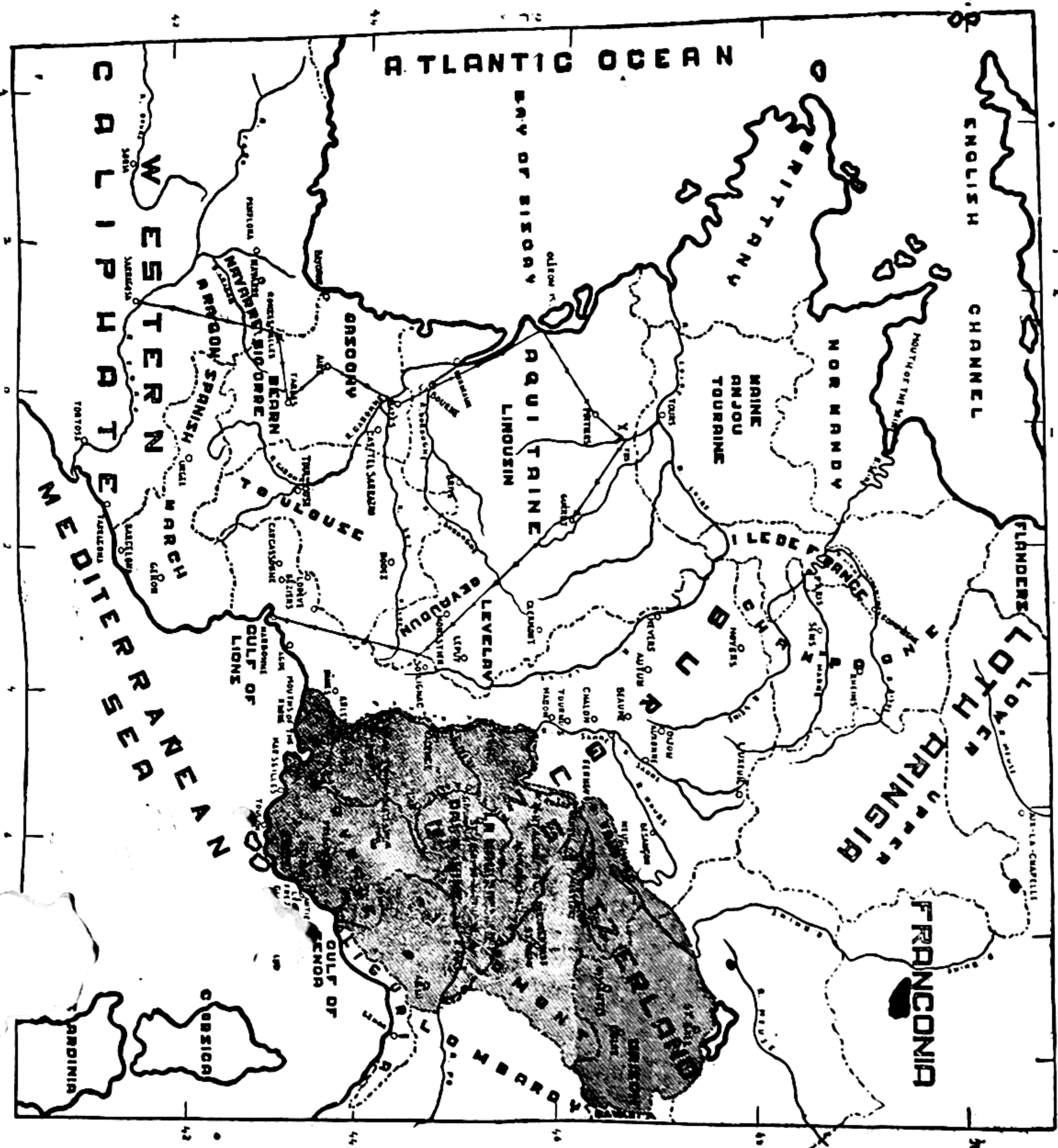
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FRANCE AND THE ADJOINING LANDS (ABOUT 950 A.C.)

Muslims' march to and from Poitiers-Tours shown by arrowhead line. Greatest extent of colonization and control by the Muslims centred at Fraxinet shaded.

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